

HORACE GREELEY, *about* 1850

A Documentary History of American Industrial Society

Edited by John R. Commons
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With preface by Richard T. Ely
and introduction by John B. Clark

Volume VIII

Labor Movement

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THE DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY COMPRISES—

VOL. I Plantation and Frontier, Volume 1, by Ulrich B. Phillips

VOL. II Plantation and Frontier, Volume 2, by Ulrich B. Phillips

VOL. III Labor Conspiracy Cases, 1806-1842, Volume 1, by John R. Commons and Eugene A. Gilmore

VOL. IV Labor Conspiracy Cases, 1806-1842, Volume 2, by John R. Commons and Eugene A. Gilmore

VOL. V Labor Movement, 1820-1840, Volume 1, by John R. Commons and Helen L. Sumner

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LABOR MOVEMENT
1840-1860

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3. THE INDUSTRIAL CONGRESS

(a) INTRODUCTION BY THE EDITOR

A preliminary convention was held in October, 1845, and Congresses were held in the month of June, as follows: Boston, 1846; New York, 1847; Philadelphia, 1848; Cincinnati, 1849; Chicago, 1850; Albany, 1851; Washington, 1852; Wilmington, 1853; Trenton, 1854; Cleveland, 1855; New York, 1856. The call for the preliminary convention was written by L. W. Ryckman. At each of these sessions, the Land Question was the leading subject of discussion, but, in addition, other measures came up and were treated in resolutions. At the session of 1847, a delegate was appointed to confer with the Liberty League at its convention at Macedon Lock, New York, agreeing to support their candidate for President if he would subscribe to the four measures of Land Limitation, Homestead Exemption, Freedom of Public Lands, and Ten Hours for Labor. The Liberty League nominated Gerrit Smith, and in 1848 the Industrial Congress endorsed the nomination, but named for vice-president Wm. S. Wait, of Illinois, in place of Elihu Burritt named by the Liberty League.[1] At the session of 1851, Senator Isaac P. Walker was named as candidate for President of the United States for the election of 1852. Senator Walker had introduced the Industrial Congress Bill as an amendment to the Oregon Bill in 1850, at which time the three votes

[1] See Smith's *Liberty and Free Soil Parties*, p. 101.

of Seward of New York, Dodge and Walker of Wisconsin were cast for his amendment.[2]

At the session of 1847, resolutions were adopted against war, in favor of protective unions, in favor of questioning candidates, in favor of paying the expenses of the Mexican War by direct taxation, and resolutions condemning secret societies and the clergy were introduced and after prolonged discussion were voted down. At the third session, 1848, resolutions were adopted endorsing protective unions, appointing H. H. ;Van Amringe as general lecturer, recommending the creation of Industrial Legislatures in the several states to coöperate with the Industrial Congress, condemning the negotiation of loans "upon the security of landed property, practiced by the general state, county, and all corporated governments, as being subversive of the rights, and destructive to the interests of posterity," empowering the Executive Committee to question all nominees for the offices of president and vice-president of the United States, condemning the attempted railroad grant to Asa Whitney, and recommending protective measures to follow freedom of the soil, as follows: prohibition of government debts, repeal of laws for the collection of debts, direct taxation, freedom of trade, disbandment of the standing army and navy, the various plans of coöperation and association for the organization of labor, the best system of township education. They also approved the "free and anti-monopoly general incorporation laws of the State of New York, and several of the New England States, those laws now offering for the first time in the history of the world a fair and just opportunity for the union in business and profits thereof, between the rich and the poor." At the fifth session,

[2] *Congressional Globe*, Aug. 13, 1850, p. 1570; Sept. 17, 1850, p. 1844.

Chicago, June, 1850, additional resolutions were adopted favoring woman's suffrage and tax-supported common schools. At the session of 1854, the slavery question and the settlement of Kansas and Nebraska occasioned prolonged discussion, which was closed by a resolution endorsing Emigrant Associations for Kansas and Nebraska, and condemning members of Congress who assisted in repealing the Missouri Compromise. The call for the preliminary convention is given below, and the representation at the conventions of 1845 and 1848.

(b) THE CALL

New-York *Daily Tribune*, Oct. 15, 1845, p. 2.

NATIONAL CONVENTION – UNION OF REFORMERS – INDUSTRIAL CONGRESS

The evils that afflict society have been criticized by the progressive spirit of the age, and organized efforts have been made for their correction.

Every prominent abuse of the human faculties, every prevailing vice, every oppressive and degrading relation that prevails, has caused the friends of humanity to array themselves in bands, for the purpose of resisting, and if possible of eradicating, some one or more of the evils that disgrace our age and country, and these bands have been justly entitled Reformers.

The Democratic party is an organization of reformers, whose principles tend to perfecting our political system, by securing to each citizen the greatest amount of individual independence, but they have made but little progress, because their leaders, corrupted by place and power, have almost always found that their interests were hostile to the principles of their constituents.

The Abolition movement, sincere, ardent, heroic with

attacks upon chattel slavery, has not succeeded, because those engaged in it have not perceived that it was only one of the many modes of oppression that the productive laborer has to endure, which every where condemn him to ignorance and want.

The Temperance reformers have done much real good, but they find a constant tendency to reaction, from the great inducements to accumulate wealth by a traffic injurious to society; from the too frequent profligacy of the rich, and from the despair of the weak, who fail in the universal conflict of interests, and from the merely animal education that is the lot of the mass.

The Peace Societies are built upon a noble foundation of justice and philanthropy, but must not expect success in establishing permanent peace, or its parent, justice, in the intercourse of nations, while the internal affairs of life are, in all their ramifications, established upon the right of conquest. Why shall not the laws, which create motives in all men to obtain from all their fellow citizens, by cunning, or any force not expressly forbidden in the law, all their lands, houses, goods, wares, and merchandise, also stimulate nations to foreign conquest and warlike aggression?

The Moral Reform Society and its auxiliaries are engaged in a noble attempt, but are entirely unable to stem the headlong tide of depravity which is the natural result of the false and corrupting relation that exists between capital and labor; continually increasing the power of the luxurious idler to spread the allurements to infamy in the presence of half-starved and squalid industrials.

Associationists, a rapidly increasing band of Reformers, are also earnest in their endeavors to evade the evils of the age, and by constructing a township upon prin-

ciples of scientific justice, they hope to lead the way to a brighter future for Humanity.

The National Reformers aim to restore the Soil to the People, contending that the thing of first importance is to establish Rights, and believing that Social and Moral Reform would almost necessarily follow.

Now the desideratum is that the different classes of Reformers should concentrate their efforts and ascertain how best they can unite their forces against the common enemy. It seems impossible that they should effect this except by a Convention representing all the different reforms of the day, and it is hoped that in this manner the work may be accomplished.

Pursuant, therefore, to the instructions of the National Convention of Reformers, assembled at Croton Hall on the 5th, 6th and 7th of May last, and pursuant to the instructions of the New-England Working Men's Convention, held at Boston on the 28th and 29th of May last, we, the undersigned, a Committee appointed for the purpose, invite the Farmers, Mechanics, and other useful classes of the Union, and all the friends of Reform, to send Delegates in number not exceeding the number of their State Representatives for each locality, to a National Convention, to be commenced in the City of New-York, on the second Tuesday of October next, and to continue in session, if possible, till a Constitution for an Industrial Congress shall be agreed upon.

PARKE GODWIN, GEORGE H. EVANS, A. E. BOVAY, ALBERT GILBERT, RANSOM SMITH, BENJ. D. TIMMS, WM. H. CHANNING—Committee.

(c) REPRESENTATION, 1845

New York *Daily Tribune*, Oct. 15, 1845, p. 2. Proceedings of Convention.

. . . Mr. Evans said that certain gentlemen were appointed by the last National Convention to attend this meeting; and also some were appointed by the New-England Working Men's Convention. The following are their names: Parke Godwin, New York City; A. J. Wright, Boston, Mass.; L. W. Ryckman, Brook Farm, Mass.; A. Brisbane, New York City; Thomas A. Devyr, Albany, N.Y.; John Speakman, Philadelphia, Pa.; Charles A. Dana, Brook Farm, Mass.; J. C. Jackson, Albany, N.Y.; James Boyle, Northampton, Mass.; John Mailey, Lynn, Mass.; Thomas Almy, Fall River, Mass.; Wm. S. Wait, Greenville, Bond Co., Ill.; J. W. Joraleman, Newark, N.J.; George R. McFarlane, Hollidaysburgh, Pa.; A. B. Stevenson, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Francis C. Treadwell, Brooklyn, New York; Alvan E. Bovay, New York City; George W. Allen, Columbus, Ohio; Hugh Garland, Virginia; Arnold Buffum, New York City; D. Lee, Buffalo, N.Y.; Theophilus Fisk, Washington; A. F. Cunningham, Virginia; John White, John S. Williams, E. Grant, Ohio; Alonzo M. Watson, Watertown, N.Y.; William Scott, Promisewell Community, Pa.; Gerrit Smith, Peterboro, N.Y.; John C. Wilkins, Louisiana; Thomas W. Whitley, Kentucky; J. C. Allaben, Delaware Co., N.Y.; Cassius M. Clay, Kentucky; John A. Collins, Skaneateles, N.Y.; George W. Showard, Eastern Shore, Md.; Benjamin White, M. C. Freedom, Me.; Marshall Pierce, Saco, Maine; Gilman Jewett, Augusta, Maine; Warren Dutcher, W. Bennington, Vermont; Rev. Mr. Balch, Rhode Island; Ellis Smalley, Plainfield, N.J.; Horace Greeley, New York City; Osborne

Macdaniel, New York City; H. R. Schetterly, Alphadelphia, Michigan; Ira Tillotson, Marshall, Calhoun Co., Michigan. . .

The following list of names [of interested persons present] was handed in:

Moses Johnson, N.Y.; Egbert S. Manning, 119 Houston St.; H. Kriege, New York; C. Meyer, do.; Wyman B. Sawyer, John G. Palmer, Benj. Sharp, James M'Cracken, Charles Murphy, Abraham Sharrott, 485 Washington St.; Charles F. Hovey, Boston; Charles Sears, Monmouth Co., N. Jersey; L. W. Ryckman, Brook Farm; Arnold Buffum, N.Y.; Hezekiah Job, Ira B. Davis, N.Y.; John Evans, N.Y.; Wm. S. Wait, Greenville, Bond Co. [Ill.]; Charles Douglas, New London, Ct.; L. Masquerier, Bushwick, L. Island; Alvan E. Bovay, James Warren, N.Y.; E. N. Kellogg, Thomas A. Devyr, J. P. Decker, Wm. Lamb, N.Y.; E. P. Grant, Canton, Ohio; Wm. Lamb, Bloomfield, N.J. . .

(d) REPRESENTATION, 1848

New York *Weekly Tribune*, June 24, 1848, p. 7, col. 2. Delegates, etc., at Industrial Congress of 1848.

John Greig, for the Rochester and Auburn National Reformers, New York. A. H. Rosenheim, (substitute Delegate), Rochester, German National Reform Association. George Adam, Sixteenth Ward National Reform Association, New York. Thomas J. Wilcox, National Reform Association of Clarkstown, Rockland Co., New York. George H. Evans, Middletown National Reform Association, New Jersey. Alvan E. Bovay and William Haddock, National Reform Association, New York. Ira B. Davis, William Ayres, George Adam, and Naomi Plotts, New York Protective Union. Lewis Masquerier, Williamsburgh Na-

tional Reform Association. John Shedden and Samuel Champion, Philadelphia National Reform Association. William Eldar, John Ashton, Jr. and Paschal Coggings, Philadelphia Union of Associationists. W. Candidus, Lewis Nahlke, and C. Ziebrick, Philadelphia German Union of Working Men. William Quantrell, Spring Garden (Phil.) Mechanics. E. W. Power, Manayunk (Pa.) Ten Hour Association. Theophilus Fisk, S. L. Detwiler, Dr. J. E. Snodgrass, and E. B. Cunningham, delegates, and C. C. Burr, A. J. H. Duganne, and G. W. Duncan, substitutes; Baltimore Working Men's Fraternal Association. Robert B. McDonald, Wilmington (Del.), National Reform Association. David Bryant, Boston National Reform Association.

4. RECEPTION OF THE DOCTRINE

(a) WHIGS AND DEMOCRATS

(1) The New York *Sun.*

Working Man's Advocate, Feb. 15, 1845. Extract from the New York *Sun*, with comments by editor of the *Advocate.*

NATURAL RIGHTS OF PROPERTY. The French revolution gave rise to singular doctrines. Animated by a love of liberty and a hatred to tyranny, anxious to get rid of an effeminate monarchy and develop the true resources and energies of the country, the poorer and middling classes seized the reins of power, and France became a Republic, and the monarchy was overthrown. During the existence of that Republic, France achieved great victories over its enemies, and brought forward the most illustrious men the world ever saw: but instead of profiting by the example of this country, in the calm exercise of its new-born liberties, the Convention of France was filled with men of violent passions, licentiousness, and furious democracy, who not only desecrated by their cruelties a pure love of liberty (1), but who were constantly bringing forward new and strange theories of government. One was an agrarian law for an equal division of property, or what was then and has since been called the natural rights of man to property (2). We have in this country a class of philosophers of this character, who have from time to time, for many years, pressed their peculiar doctrines upon the people. While confined to mere essays, debates and lectures, this new philosophy was harmless, but when mingled with the political discussions of the day, and made to assume the form of a principle, and urged as a sound one, it becomes dangerous to the institutions of the country, and men of all parties should unite to put down doctrines which strike at the root of the social system, because they involve reforms which cannot, without revolution and bloodshed, be carried into effect (3). A partizan Magazine belonging to this peculiar school, has, in a recent number, broached the doctrine of the natural rights of property in a very elaborate article, and attempts to show that the "conventional laws of property, counteracting the natural laws and the natural rights of man, are among the foremost of the causes of the ignorance, poverty, suffering, and sin, which, in all ages, have degraded the masses of

mankind." To enable the writer to carry out this principle, he says, "There is a natural right of property (land), as a natural right of life and liberty – equally conferred by the Creator – belonging to man as man – equally necessary to enable him to accomplish the destiny assigned him."

"Whatever deprives men of a natural right is a robbery – whoever does it is a robber." "The earth," it says, "was created for the subsistence of man; by the law of nature it is the common patrimony of the race. If by virtue of his creation as a son of God, every man has a natural essential right to life and liberty; by virtue of the same relation, every man must have a right to equal portion of the earth, or an equivalent, for his subsistence and use."

This doctrine is based upon the principle of Liberty and Equality, but this School of Philosophers, and they are as old as they are unsuccessful, forget that equality relates to political rights (4). There shall be no ranks (such as Landlords and Tenants) – no titles – no hereditary principles – no exclusive privileges, (some protected to a superfluity of land, and others with none at all) – laws are made for the benefit of all and bind all equally. This is the equality which is the twin sister of liberty. It is the equality of law, not of property. It is not because A owns a three story house that B, having none of his own, claims to be proprietor of the adjoining building. By "equality" it is not intended because I own a farm which I have acquired by hard labor, that I must divide my farm with a person who probably has neither industry, temperance, nor enterprise to acquire one for himself (5). This "equality" does not imply, as the Philosophers imagine, that one man having a dollar must divide that dollar with his neighbor who has none. (Who said it did, Alderman?) Political liberty is not the parent of equality in the social system, and for this simple reason: the moment man is free to pursue any occupation he pleases, his energy and his intellect are free, and such a man must acquire property, whereas the man without intellect or energy remains poor. (Invariably so!) Here both are politically equal, but not socially. Would you take from the intelligent and active to give to the indolent? (6) If all men were intellectually endowed alike by nature, then there would be something in this equality (7). Suppose that we should enact laws in carrying out such doctrines, to prevent men bequeathing their property to whoever they please, and compel them to leave that property to the public to be equally divided, who would ever exert himself to acquire any property? Who

would care for it, beyond the wants of the day? This doctrine of the "rights of property" is unnatural and unreasonable (8). It teaches man not to depend upon his own industry and energy, but upon the energy and industry of others. Connected with our political discussions, it is wicked and mischievous. The man without means is at war with himself, and with all mankind; he is willing to take what he knows belongs to another, and to accomplish this he becomes radical and revolutionary. The democracy of large cities partake already of a portion of this spirit. Men become politicians who are unwilling to labor, and after shouting at the polls and at ward meetings, they demand to be paid in the offices of the people, which probably they have not character to claim, nor capacity to fill. We must avoid the errors of the French revolution. Democracy does not mean Vandalism (9).

(1) A very natural result of a long series of atrocities to which they had been subject, and one which ought to be a lesson to those who are the props of oppression everywhere.

(2) An agrarian law relates to a division of land, and not a division of the products of labor, or property, as the *Sun* artfully pretends. If France had adopted an Agrarian law, all Europe would have been Republics long ago.

(3) Those who have read Dickens's "Chimes" will call to mind the worthy of the "put down" school portrayed in that little work. We poor landless fellows may talk, and debate, and lecture on agrarianism as much as we please, it seems; (we are very thankful for the smallest favors); but when we come to "mingle our notions with the political discussions of the day," and "make them assume the form of a principle," O dear! it is there the shoe pinches, and the Alderman Cute of the *Sun* decrees that we must be "put down." Alas! that we should have been born without "saddles on our backs" ready for Alderman Cute to mount, and with such thoughts running through our brains as to make us

imagine that we have a right to a bit of the earth! We must be desperately "bad."

(4) It is a political right that our natural rights shall be protected, or what is your political organization good for, Alderman?

(5) Certainly not, Alderman; but if there is land that nobody has acquired by hard labor, nor even by gift or purchase from somebody who stole it, might not the possession of this land make some industrious, and temperate, and enterprising, who would otherwise be the reverse?

(6) Not unless they had got what did not belong to them. Would you?

(7) And since they are not, it is the more necessary that they should have an equality of rights.

(8) You are battling here a windmill of your own imagining: but, if we may be allowed to cross-examine you, what objection have you to the right to land? May the poor not have a bit of it?

(9) Neither does Democracy mean that there should be 80,000 persons receiving pauper relief or charity in a population of 400,000, or that those who produce the least should enjoy the most of the products of labor. The grand "error of the French Revolution" was in not making every citizen a freeholder, and that is the error that "we should avoid," if we would not split on the same rock. However, if these doctrines are to be "put down," it is hoped that Alderman Cute will let us know how he is going to work at it. That is what we are curious about.

(2) The *Commercial Advertiser.*

Working Man's Advocate, Feb. 22, 1845. Extract from New York *Commercial Advertiser*, with comments by editor of the *Advocate.*

AGRARIANISM. There are two classes of writers on this subject, among those who address themselves to the public in this country — as doubtless in some other countries also — the principal distinction be-

tween which is that those of one class know exactly what they want to accomplish, and speak it out distinctly, while those of the other, with more skill in the use of language, either do not know or are afraid or unwilling to say what is the specific object of their endeavors. The first class is represented by a weekly paper issued in this city, called the *National Reformer*, and conducted with more earnestness and freedom from disguise than ability or knowledge; and the sentiments of this class are expressed also in sundry petitions that have already found their way to the legislative houses at Albany, asking in very precise and well defined terms, that laws may be enacted, prohibiting all men from owning more land than will be sufficient to produce, under the labor of their own hands, the necessary means of subsistence for themselves and their families.

It may be well to remark here that the *National Reformer* and *Working Man's Advocate* have advocated identical doctrines, the former being published occasionally as an auxiliary in the cause; and that the memorials to the State Legislature propose that no person hereafter shall get possession of more land, under any circumstances, than is necessary for a reasonable sized farm. The *Commercial* proceeds:

The other class of which we have spoken makes itself heard, or rather read, through channels of higher pretension. It has representatives and abettors, more or less thoroughgoing, in the conductors of two or three daily papers, and lifts its voice, occasionally, with a terrible outcry, in one or the other of the monthly periodicals. A notable specimen of its eloquence may be found in the *Democratic Review* for January, in an article entitled "What is the Reason," the opinions and sentiments of which are in the main endorsed and highly eulogized by the editor of that magazine, who is also an editor of one of the daily papers referred to.

Moved thereto by the commendations of the editor, in his paper as well as his magazine, we have carefully read the article in question, expecting, or at least hoping, to find in it something specific and tangible which might either convince or be worthy of refutation. But we have had our labor for our pains. The whole fourteen pages exhibit not a solitary principle or suggestion, which a practical man can take hold of and apply to the remedy of what the writer describes as monstrous evil and injustice. It is all declamation – vigorous enough, it

is true, and expressed with great command of language – against the frauds and robberies and cruelties which the present organization of society not only permits but defends and enforces – as the writer insists, with a sufficient interweaving of lamentations over the miseries and wrongs of poor down-trodden labor, invectives against the tyranny of capital, and beautiful apostrophes to faith, hope, the worth of man as man, brotherhood and the indefeasible rights of humanity. The writer himself declares that he has "no definite scheme to propose;" but some definite scheme is precisely what we want to have placed before us, and therefore, turning away from the florid generalities of the *Democratic Review*, we are obliged to fall back upon the distinct and intelligible propositions of the *National Reformer*.

As we have intimated, these resolve themselves into the simple assertion that no man ought to possess more land than he can cultivate with his own hands; followed, as a necessary consequence, by the *sequitur* that every man ought to have as much land as he can thus cultivate. In short, these reformers contend distinctly for an equal division of all the lands among all the people. At least we can make nothing else of their writings. If they do mean something else, either they do not express themselves with sufficient clearness, or we have read them inattentively or stupidly.

The above remarks upon the article of the *Democratic Review* are just. It is a beautiful and eloquent definition of Rights, without an explanation of the means to restore and secure them to the mass. And now for a little explanation. The *Commercial* asserts that we contend that "no man ought to possess more land than he can cultivate with his own hands," and that we contend "for an equal division of all the lands among all the people," propositions which are inconsistent with each other, and neither of which is exactly correct. And yet the *Commercial* may not have read us either "inattentively or stupidly." . . We say that as all men have an equal right to land, no man has a right to such a quantity as would deprive another of his right; and, therefore, that it is the duty of government so to apportion the land as that all may enjoy their right. It does

not follow from this, however, that no man must have more than he can cultivate, for all may hold more, and may, also, work for others as much as they please, but not by compulsion, as now. Nor does it follow, that all the land must be divided among all the people; but that all shall be guaranteed an equal or equivalent portion.

So much for the *Commercial's* introduction. Now for its argument:

Now we propose to bring this proposition to a single test – that of practicability. If it cannot stand that – if what the reformers require cannot be done and continued – the requirement is shown to be nonsensical; we do not mean nonsensical in the contemptuous sense of the word, but literally – without sense. (Admitted).

And at the outset we waive all the advantages in argument that might be attained by insisting on the difficulties that would follow increase of population, and the possible ultimate occupation of all the lands available for cultivation, when new divisions would become indispensable; nor shall we insist upon the embarrassments that would arise from the necessity of different occupations, the congregation of men in towns and cities and the exigencies of commerce and manufactures. We will take the case, as supposable, in the most favorable point of view for the agrarian project, and set out with the assumption that the population of a given territory may, with advantage, all be tillers of the earth, that there is land enough for all, that all the land is equally fertile and equally well situated with reference to markets for produce, &c.; in short that every thing is favorable to an equal division and enjoyment.

. . . As we do not propose to divide "all the land among all the people," but only to allow each what may be considered by the majority as amply sufficient, no possible difficulty could follow "increase of population" so long as there was unoccupied land. Suppose that the States had each passed a law restraining any one hereafter from getting more than 160 acres, and that had Congress laid out the Public Lands in Farms of 160 acres and Village Lots of about 5 acres, with the same

restriction, the *Commercial* will see that the land would immediately cheapen where it is now sold, as the occupants died and large tracts were necessarily thrown on the market, emigration at the same time taking place to the free Public Lands. Land being then considered, as the water is now, (except in a few cases), of no value except for use, numbers of families would not be under the same necessity as now to scatter in quest of it, and families would frequently remain on the homestead to the second, third, or fourth generations. Communities, too, would be established; and the whole system would tend to support the population on the smallest space consistent with health, comfort, and happiness, reversing exactly the crowded city and isolated country system now in vogue. This would go on, every man, at all times, having the right to take homestead, as long as the land would support the population; and surely if the plan would effect this, the *Commercial* would not require us to usurp the prerogative of Almighty power, and increase the capabilities of the soil beyond the present powers of Nature!

But to come to close quarters at once, let us consider the definite objections which the *Commercial* urges to Agrarianism:

We will suppose, for instance, that there is a territory of fifty thousand acres, now belonging to fifty men, but occupied by five hundred renters or tenants; and that, in the new order of things, the five hundred become owners, each having a hundred acres; and we will let them all be established, each on his own snug little farm, and procuring from it by his labor a comfortable subsistence.

Men are mortal; the most comfortably situated men must die; in the course of years one of our five hundred dies, leaving a widow and three female children. What is to become of these? They cannot till the ground; what shall they do for the means of subsistence? Shall the widow hire a man or men to cultivate her fields for her? Where shall she find such a man or men? For every one of the re-

maining four hundred and ninety-nine has his own farm to take care of. And besides, labor for wages is denounced as one of the crying and wicked evils of the present system. Shall she rent her farm to some neighbor? That cannot be, for the proposed reform expressly requires that no man shall possess more than his own hundred acres. Nor can she sell it, for the same reason. So then at the very outset we encounter an inevitable and insurmountable impracticability.

In the first place, it is necessary to state, for the information of the *Commercial*, though not for that of our regular readers, (for it has been stated over and over again,) that we do not propose that all men should be farmers, or have an equal quantity of land; but that they shall be what they please, and have a Farm or Lot at their option, which would be an equitable quantity and an equal right. Then, as to the poor widow with the "three female children:" the question "What must become of these?" might be answered, Yankee fashion, by asking would they be worse off in their own farm house, surrounded by numerous little conveniences usually pertaining to such an establishment, such as a dairy and poultry, a garden, fruit, flowers, and so on, than they would in a third-story room or a cellar with a dollar a week rent to pay? Widows with snug farms, and blooming daughters, generally manage to get along, even in the present state of society, though a considerable portion of the farm produce goes to pay the city rents; and, though we consider (compulsory) "labor for wages" a "crying evil," in this particular case if there were no young man under the mesmeric influence of one of these "three female children" who would volunteer to cultivate the widow's farm, possibly (as "men are mortal") there might be some bachelor or widower among the "four hundred and ninety-nine" who might need a house-keeper: and the *Commercial* will easily see how matters could be arranged in such a case. . . .

But again. Suppose one of the five hundred has a son who is unluckily thrown by a horse and gets his back broken, causing a permanent incapacity for labor: but the boy has superior talents and may rise to eminence in one of the learned professions. He becomes entitled to the farm, on the death of his father, not as his heir but as substitute – as one of the five hundred; how shall he deal with it so that it may yield him a subsistence while he is pursuing his studies? He cannot work it, he cannot let, sell, or mortgage it; nor can he hire any one to work it for him. It is of no more value, then, to him, than a lot in the submerged Jackson city; and for aught we can see there is nothing left for him but to starve and make room for somebody who can make use of the property.

Now here are two cases of almost certain occurrence in effect, though the manner may be different, which at once demonstrate the impracticability of the reform so earnestly demanded. And we cannot see how, on the avowed principles of the reformers, the difficulties they present can possibly be surmounted. The acquisition and enjoyment of property must be left open to every man's skill, enterprise or good fortune, and the transmission and disposition as well as the possession of property must be secured to individuals, or the very elements of social existence are broken up. There must be a right to buy, to sell, to mortgage, or to use us in other way not injurious to others, or society cannot go on, with the wants, the achievements and the benefits of civilization. The proposed measures of the national reformers would gradually bring the world back to a state of barbarism.

In the case of the poor back-broken boy left with a farm, and wishing to get his living by a profession, if he had no relative wishing to commence for himself with whom he could make an arrangement, and if he could not find a man without means who would work for wages or "on shares" to procure capital to begin on his own place, (a terrible supposition!) he might, at the worst, sell out his improvements to the highest legal bidder, and purchase the improvements on a village lot or take a vacant one; or, if his means should fail him, and if he had no friends, could he, a poor cripple, not be provided for as well as now? . . .

In conclusion, let me congratulate the National Reformers, and all reformers of 1845, on the improved tone of the aristocratic press. Mark the respectful and gentlemanly terms in which the *Courier* and *Commercial* spoke of the People's Movement on Saturday last, and contrast them with the style of the same papers in speaking of the same movement in 1829, when the *Courier* (then edited by Webb, Bennett, and Noah) styled the Working Men "the spawn and vomit of garrets and cellars," and the *Commercial* called them "a party emerging from the slime of this community, more beastly and terrible than the Egyptian Typhon." . .

(3) The *Whig Battering Ram.*
Working Man's Advocate, Sept. 14, 1844.

It appears by the following extract, which we make from a "campaign" paper, printed at Columbus, Ohio, called the *Whig Battering Ram*, that the Land question is under discussion in that State. Not an hour too soon!

"Equal rights" sound very well, as the rallying cry of demagogues, but the doctrine is impracticable any further than guaranteed by the Constitution. So far as that, and no farther, have the Whigs always been found battling for equal rights. They do not go for the doctrines avowed and endorsed in the *Statesman* of Friday last, that "Free suffrage and freedom of the soil go hand in hand!!"

That doctrine could not flourish even in ancient Rome, much less can it among the enlightened people of this Union. If we buy 100 acres of land, and pay for it, who is it that will have the presumption to say he has a right to it equal with ourself? Yet this is the precise meaning of the above! The doctrine avowed and endorsed by the *Statesman*, is, that if we allow equal rights as regards the elective franchise, we should allow the equal rights of each individual to an equal share of the soil, without reference to purchase! If this is not agrarianism, open and undisguised, we know not what is! Such doctrines are an insult to American citizens. Who could be ambitious of acquiring wealth, if every one had an equal right to it after it was acquired by the toil and suffering of the honest laborer? Who would purchase land, if any one had as much right to it as the pur-

chaser? Such doctrines must certainly be the offspring of an insane and addled brain. For who, other than a lunatic, could assert their practicability?

(b) HORACE GREELEY

New York *Daily Tribune*, Oct. 17, 1845, p. 2. "The National Reformers."

The *Courier & Enquirer*, after quoting a part of the recent placard of the new Radical party, speaks of that party's object as follows:

Now it confines its demands to a farm, for each of its members. When it acquires the numerical majority, we cannot doubt that it will extend the area of its desires, and urge its followers to vote themselves a house, or a watch, or a purse, in short any thing which they happen to want, and others happen to have. There is no reason or principle which will sustain the one demand, which will not, with equal justice and equal cogency, require the other.

Now we do not belong to the party here assailed, and should take time to consider their object very thoroughly before pronouncing a favorable opinion upon it. The proposition is a very grave one, and requires scrutiny from several different points of view. But he who can perceive no distinction between a proposition to divide among the People what is, beyond question, their common property, and a proposition to vote a division of individual property among other persons than its owners, must surely be ill qualified for any station requiring the possession and exercise of reason.

New York *Weekly Tribune*, Nov. 29, 1845, p. 5, col. 5.

Fourteen years ago, when the editor of the *Tribune* came to this City, there was published here a small daily paper entitled the *Sentinel*, devoted to the cause of what was called by its own supporters "The Working Men's Party," and by its opponents "The Fanny Wright Working Men." Of that party we have little personal knowledge, but at the head of the paper, among several

good and many objectionable avowals of Principle, was borne the following: "Single Districts for the choice of each Senator and Member of Assembly."

We gave this proposition some attention at the time, and came to the conclusion that it was alike sound and important. It mattered little to us that it was accompanied and surrounded by others that we could not assent to, and was propounded by a party with which we had no acquaintance and little sympathy. We are accustomed to welcome truth, from whatever quarter it may approach us, and on whatever flag it may be inscribed. Subsequent experience has fully confirmed our original impression, and now we have little doubt that this principle, which was utterly slighted when presented under unpopular auspices, will be engrafted on our Reformed Constitution without serious opposition.

We are reminded of this by a proposition recently started by a new party styled "National Reformers," composed of like materials and in good part of the same men with the old "Working Men's Party." Their idea is that no more Public Lands should be sold by the Government, but rather that the whole remainder being surveyed into quarter sections of 160 acres each, should be left open and free to actual settlers, to be held by them and their descendants until the Government shall decide otherwise, or probably, until our population shall have become so numerous that there is not 160 arable acres for each family, when it may be decreed that a farther division shall be made on the demise of any occupant. No man who owns or holds one tract shall be entitled to take another, or to acquire it by purchase or otherwise. An occupant may dispose of his right to any landless man, but cannot be dispossessed by the Sheriff, as the

land is not his, and the right to land enough to live on is deemed inalienable. Such is substantially the plan of the National Reformers. Its objects are, the securing to every man, as nearly as may be, a chance to work for and earn a living; secondly, the discouragement of land monopoly and speculation, and the creation of a universally landholding People, such as has not been since the earlier and purer days of the Israelite Commonwealth. These objects are not merely important; they are most beneficent and desirable; and, since the project contemplates the taking from no man of any thing he now has or can justly claim, we think it deserving of the most candid and earnest consideration.

Yet we are not prepared to give it our unqualified approval. The consequences of such a change must be immense; who can measure or estimate them? Some of them may very possibly be evil; one objection strikes us now: that of injustice to the old States. We are not absolutely and in all respects a Commonwealth; we have State interests and State rights. The blood and treasure of the Old Thirteen has been freely poured out in obtaining these lands—from Great Britain, from France, from Spain, and from the Indians. Will it be quite fair to make such a disposition of them as will tend absolutely to depopulate and impoverish the old States without rendering them (as States) any recompense whatever? These are points to be considered; and there are doubtless more such. In the precise shape given it by its originators we doubt whether it ever can or should pass. But details may be modified and equivalents for injuries suggested. There really seems so much of beneficence, so much of promise, in the elementary idea of letting everybody have ground to live on out of the land which now belongs to everybody, that we cannot consent to see it lightly contemned and rejected.

Will not those journals which have indicated hostility to this project oblige us by some real discussion of its merits? Calling it "Agrarian" and its advocates "Empire Club-men" and "Butt-enders" (untrue, by the way; we have not heard of one of the "Empires" favoring the new party) does not satisfy us, nor will it satisfy the people. If the advocates of this scheme have very crude or bad notions on other Political questions, it is so much the more important that they should not be allowed the exclusive possession of any good idea, since this would be likely to give popularity and success to their errors. Let us see what are the strong objections to this new project, so that, if they outweigh the reasons for its acceptance, we may be able to oppose it with effect. . .

New York *Weekly Tribune*, March 6, 1847, p. 3.

. . . What we would have done by Legislation with regard to Land may be summed up as follows: 1. Let the Public Lands, whether of the Union or of any State, be disposed of to Actual Settlers only. 2. Let each man who needs land be permitted to take without price so much as he absolutely needs. 3. Let no man be authorized to acquire and hold more than a fixed maximum of arable Land, say 160, 320, or 540 acres. 4. Take from no man that which is lawfully his; but let him who falls heir to lands above the legal maximum be required to sell the excess to some one who has less within a year after coming into possession. 5. Let the Homestead of a Family, to the extent of forty acres, not including more than one dwelling, be rendered Inalienable by Mortgage, Execution, or otherwise than by the voluntary deed of the occupying owner and his wife, if such there be. These measures, though various, are parts of one system, of which the end is to enable every industrious man to sit under his own vine and fig-tree,

with none to molest nor make him afraid. That the idea will encounter vehement hostility and misrepresentation was inevitable from the outset, but the day of its triumph "Is coming yet for a' that." It needs but to be discussed and understood to secure it an overwhelming approval and support.

(c) SQUATTERS AND CLAIMANTS

(1) A Claim Society.
Young America, Dec. 12, 1845.

Exeter, Green Co., W. T., Nov. 10, 1845.

Sir—I herewith send you a copy of the *Wisconsin Argus*, containing the action (in part) of the "Green County Claim Society," with the request that you copy the same, provided you shall approve of the course pursued by the society. You will please to send me a copy of your valuable paper for one year, and you may publish for me (giving one insertion) a notice that $12,000 is wanted for a term of years, varying from three to seven, at an interest of seven per centum per annum, secured by mortgage on unincumbered real estate (and the same will be wanted for the purpose of purchasing a home for claimants, and wanted in sums of from $50 to $200). More than $12,000 could be loaned on the above terms in this vicinity.

Address HIRAM BROWN, as above.

(At a Claim Meeting held in Green county, at the house of J. W. Thompson, on the 25th of August last, the following resolutions and by-laws were unanimously adopted, in order to form a society for the protection of claimants on government lands.—ED. OF *Wisconsin Argus*.)

Whereas, in the course of events it appears that there are a class of persons who seem to be disposed to live out of the labors of others, by taking advantage

of the necessities of their less wealthy neighbors, the consequences being the establishment of a petty aristocracy who are sure to choke the tree of Liberty and cause her leaves to wither so that her sons can no more recline under her balmy shadows, but will be compelled to endure the scorching rays and blasting influence of the slavery making idol of money tyrants, now, in order (in part) to avoid this evil, and to proclaim our determinations, we resolve the following:

RESOLVED, that we consider that mankind are created free and equal, and therefore one person has no right to take the just earnings of another without rendering an equivalent.

RESOLVED, that we consider the laws, like other human institutions, necessarily imperfect; but that it is no excuse for any person who takes advantage of those imperfections to degrade and oppress his fellow man.

RESOLVED, that we consider it just and proper for a person who is destitute of the requisite means to purchase land of the government, to claim and hold the same by the force of Public Restraint, who, like justice, is mild when mildness will answer but severe when severity is necessary.

RESOLVED, that in order to insure sufficient security, we will join ourselves into a body and unite all our energies to secure our possessions against the encroachments of those drones of society who live at the expense of others, and who we verily believe would rob the widow and orphan of their last morsel of bread.

RESOLVED, that we institute the following rules for the regulation of our conduct in our opposition to the enemies of Liberty, Justice and Equality:

ARTICLE 1st. This Society shall be called the Green County Claim Society.

ARTICLE 2d. The officers of this society shall consist of a President, Treasurer, Chief Secretary, four Recording Secretaries, and a committee of ten to be called the Committee of Justice.

ARTICLE 3d. The President shall be chosen by a majority at any meeting of this society, and hold his office during the pleasure of the same. He shall keep order, and do such other business as is incumbent upon a presiding officer generally.

ARTICLE 4th. The Treasurer to be chosen and hold his office the same as the President, whose duty it shall be to receive and pay out all sums of the society at or on a direction of an order from the Secretary.

ARTICLE 5th. The Secretary and four Recording Secretaries shall be elected and hold their offices the same as the President, &c. The duty of the Secretary shall be to keep a journal of the doings of the society, and receive and keep safe the records of the Recording Secretaries. The duty of the Recording Secretaries shall be to record the description of each member's claim, and transmit the same to the Secretary of the society within one month from the time of record.

ARTICLE 6th. The Committee of Ten shall be chosen and hold their office the same as the President, &c. They, in connexion, or three of them and secretary, shall superintend the administration of justice upon all offenders.

ARTICLE 7th. There shall be stated Quarterly Meetings of the society, and special meetings as often as required and found necessary. Three of the committee of justice shall have power to call special meetings at the time and place agreed on.

ARTICLE 8th. Each claimant shall register with one of the Secretaries his claim with the description of the same.

ARTICLE 9th. It shall be proper for a member of this society to claim a quarter section of land, whether fractional or otherwise, and no more. There shall be at least $10.00 improvement within 30 days after record, and $10.00 improvement each succeeding year, to make a claim valid in the eyes of this society.

ARTICLE 10th. All persons shall be residents in the town or precinct in which their claim may lie. They shall also be at least 18 years of age.

ARTICLE 11th. This society will do their utmost in word and deed (keeping within the bounds of discretion) to protect the claims of members of this society from being entered or encroached upon by any person whatever other than the claimant of the land.

ARTICLE 12th. The members of this society shall refrain from holding any intercourse of a friendly nature with any one who shall enter another's claim (without such claimant's consent) or in any manner neighbor with him or his family, or any one else who will so neighbor or befriend such person; and furthermore, utterly refrain from buying of or selling to him, or in any way or manner assist him, for hire or charity, except in cases of sickness in his family.

ARTICLE 13th. Any person who shall enter, or may have entered, any valid claim from a member of this society will be required to settle the matter to the satisfaction of the committee of justice.

ARTICLE 14th. The rules of this society can be altered or amended by a majority of two-thirds at any quarterly meeting of the same.

ARTICLE 15th. Forty members of this society shall form a quorum to transact business.

Before the close of the meeting, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

RESOLVED, that the Proceedings, Constitution, and

By-laws of this society be published in the Wisconsin *Argus* and the Madison *Express*.

RESOLVED, that in order to become a member of this society, a person must sign the Constitution thereof.

AMENDMENT. ARTICLE 1st. No claim will be protected by this society for a longer period than three years.

HIRAM BROWN, Pres't.

Attest, AARON BROUGHTON, Sec'y.

Comment on the Foregoing.
The *Argus* (Madison, W.T.), Oct. 28, 1845.

We publish the following proceedings as requested, but must express our disapprobation of the tone of some of the articles and resolves of the association. Congress has enacted a Claim law for the benefit of settlers whose means are too limited to admit of an immediate purchase, which is certainly not much short of liberal in its provisions, and although grievances may still sometimes exist, yet we think it would be better to trust for their correction and avoidance to the natural sense of justice which is common to mankind, than to resort to unlawful measures. Well meaning persons may not be aware of the legal consequences which might result to themselves from merely taking an active part in the doings of such an association in case a crime should be committed by it which they as individuals would neither advise nor approve. Estimable persons have often in this way involved themselves and their families in consequences which they little dreamed of.

It is with the kindest feelings we say to our friends in that quarter, (and we believe we have many in that region) that the finale of the Anti-rent Associations in New York, should be a caution to all similar ones to keep within the bounds of legal propriety.

(2) Greeley's Correspondence from Wisconsin.
New York *Weekly Tribune*, July 17, 1847, p. 4.

. . . I learned with deep gratification during this flying visit that the settlers of this section, who are generally poor men who have tried to pay for considerable tracts of wild land while subduing them into farms in Western New-York, Ohio and elsewhere, begin here by restricting themselves to eighty acres each and paying for that quantity at the earliest moment. A large portion of them come in destitute, having expended what money they could raise by the sale of their effects at the Eastward in looking out lands and removing their families hither; so that, when he has put up a log cabin, chopped two or three acres, purchased a cow and a few rude implements of Agriculture and Housewifery, the settler is, nine times in ten, left penniless. But the food of his family must in good part be bought for a year at least; he cannot clear and farm without some sort of a team; and unless his land is paid for within a year after he enters his claim he is liable to be dispossessed by whoever can and will pay for it; while he must work very hard and be fortunate to be able to pay for even eighty acres within four years after taking possession. Here is a great temptation held out to cupidity on the one hand, provoking lawless violence on the other. Before the pioneer can extract a hundred dollars in cash from his patch of forest, above the subsistence of his family, he must have bestowed three or four hundred dollars' worth of hard labor upon its permanent improvement—and all this lies, after the first year, at the mercy of whoever chooses to jump his claim and enter the land. The Land Officers have no legal discretion—if the specie is tendered for any lands not already purchased and for which an unexpired claim of

Preëmption is not on record, they must take the mone; and issue the requisite papers. At this moment, land richly worth Five Millions of Dollars might be take out from under their holders and improvers for On Million, and nobody could prevent it. The only chec upon this is that afforded by the unanimous and decide Public Opinion of the non-speculating settlers, which i is notorious they will enforce by the strong arm if nee be. He who enters a tract on which another has settle and made improvements, (unless the settler happens to be one whom the community greatly desires to be ric of,) buys it with the certainty that he or his can neve peaceably enjoy it, and that his life will hardly be safe upon it. All that is charged against the Anti-renters of three or four Counties of our State is substantially paralleled throughout the West, and in fact over the whole Public Domain. There are legal rights which no man can enforce but at the certain peril of his property and peace and probably of his life also. Twenty years' railing and denunciation have not bettered this a hair; and forty years' more, if tried, will prove just as effectual. The simple, sole, obvious remedy for this deplorable and most pernicious oppugnancy between Legal Right and Practical Right will be found in withdrawing the Public Lands forever from the vortex of Speculation and allowing them to be acquired only by actual settlers and in limited quantities. How long must this most desirable consummation be waited for?

The mischiefs already entailed on the Industry and Business of this Country by Land Speculation are incalculable. Only those who have seen much, reflected much, have any full idea of them. Wherever, upon a natural harbor, a bay, a head of navigation, or a waterfall, a village begins or promises to spring up, there the

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speculator or his agent is early on hand, and pounces on all the unoccupied land within a circuit of a mile or two. This he holds back for a price treble to sixty-fold that he paid for it, perfectly sure that he must get it by waiting long enough—that the only question is one of time. Meantime his tract is a blight and a cancer, giving employment to no labor, contributing nothing to the erection of School-houses or Churches, or the encouragement of Mechanics or Artisans, and insuring the continuance of wretched, stumpy, miry Roads all around the rising village; for it is almost impossible to make good roads through the primitive forest. It is a perpetual facility and temptation to trespassers in the taking off of timber, which often serves as a school for theft and crime generally. Generally the speculator makes something, though not always; for taxes and interest during a series of years may devour all his profits; but in any case the injury inflicted on the community is very great. . . .

(d) STATE LEGISLATURES

(1) New York.

New York *Assembly Documents*, 1845, No. 222.

REPORT of the majority of the select committee on numerous petitions from manor tenants in several counties in this State for relief.

Mr. Constant, from the select committee to which was referred the petitions from numerous tenants in the counties of Niagara, Oneida, Fulton, Montgomery, Otsego, Schoharie, Schenectady, Delaware, Greene, Ulster, Sullivan, Dutchess, Columbia, Albany and Rensselaer, reports: that some of the petitioners ask "that a law may be passed which shall prohibit any person in this State, after the 4th day of July, 1846, from holding, occupying or possessing more than one thousand acres

of land." Your committee do not believe that the Legislature have any power to pass a law that a man who has a good title to ten thousand or any other number of acres, shall, on the 4th day of July, 1846, cease to have a title to more than one thousand acres. The man who now owns ten thousand acres of land is entitled to the same protection in the enjoyment of his estate, as one owning but one acre.

The same petitioners ask for the passage of a law which shall prohibit each and every person from acquiring by purchase, devise or otherwise, the right to possess at any one time, more than one thousand acres of land. Your committee believe, that the effect of such a law would not be otherwise than injurious to the rights of individuals, and the best interests of the State. Every man, having the means to pay for, and wishing to possess more than that quantity of land, would, if such a law were enacted, remove into some other State or Territory where he would be at liberty to purchase and hold as much land as he pleased or could pay for. The folly and inexpediency of such an act of legislation would be of the same character as a law forbidding any man to acquire personal property exceeding one thousand dollars in value, and would be the means of driving all enterprise from our State. There are at this time undoubtedly large debts secured by mortgages or judgments, which are liens on more than ten thousand acres of land, and to take from creditors and every other person the right to purchase under such judgments or mortgages would seriously impair the rights of creditors. Your committee are, therefore, persuaded that to promote the prosperity and wealth of the State every man ought to be at liberty to invest the fruits of his industry and enterprise in such property as he pleases. . .

(2) Wisconsin.

(i) Homestead Exemption.

Voice of Industry, Jan. 8, 1847.

GOOD NEWS FROM THE WEST. *Young America* comes to us unusually "rich," this week, and . . . brings the following cheering tidings of the progress of National Reform in Wisconsin.

GLORIOUS VICTORY. Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma thrown in the shade! – Matamoras, Monterey, and Tabasco totally eclipsed! – The second best National Reform Measure adopted by Wisconsin! – Hunkerism routed! First Free State!

In the Constitutional Convention of Wisconsin the following article in favor of Homestead Exemption was read the third time and passed, by a vote of 61 to 35. . .

(ii) Land Limitation.

Milwaukee *Daily Sentinel and Gazette*, Feb. 17, 1851, p. 2.

THE PEOPLE IN COUNCIL – Great Anti-agrarian Demonstration. The largest and most respectable assemblage, ever gathered within four walls in the City of Milwaukee, convened at Gardiner's Hall, on Saturday night to give expression to the strong, indignant, and very general sentiment of condemnation, entertained by our People towards the Agrarian Law now pending in the Legislature. The meeting, tho' called together without sound of cannon, or glare of bonfire, or clang of bell; simply, indeed, by a notice in two of our daily papers and a few handbills posted about the streets on Saturday afternoon, filled to repletion the largest Hall in the State, and included a full representation from every interest, class and calling in our city. The meeting was organized by the selection of Judge Chandler as Chairman, and Mr. Vliet, as Secretary.

The Judge having read the call under which the meeting was convened, and added a few pertinent remarks in reference to its objects, Alderman Button moved the appointment of a Committee of five to prepare and report resolutions for its consideration.

This motion having been put and carried, the Chair designated the following gentlemen as the Committee, viz: Edward Button, Hans Crocker, Chas. H. Larkin, John Furlong, and J. F. Gruenhagen.

The Committee having retired, a number of gentlemen were called for, to address the meeting, and Mr. H. S. Orton, in obedience to such call, took the stand, and delivered an interesting and telling speech. At the close of his remarks, the Committee returned, and through their Chairman, Col. Crocker, reported a series of admirable resolutions, which were read, received with great applause, and subsequently adopted by acclamation.

After the reading of the resolutions the meeting was addressed in turn, and with great effect by A. McArthur, J. E. Arnold, and James S. Brown. The latter gentleman, our late Attorney General, went into an elaborate review of the design and tendency of the Land Limitation bill, and demonstrated, with force and clearness, that such a measure would be hurtful to every interest of the State; would impair its credit, check its growth, and blast its fair fame, and would weigh most sorely upon the very class for whose benefit it was pretended to be passed. Mr. Brown spoke with much earnestness and eloquence, and was repeatedly interrupted by loud and general applause. At the close of his remarks, the resolutions were again read, and the question on their adoption having been put from the chair, a shout of "Aye!" went up that shook the building. The "noes," notwithstanding the intimations that the friends of this Agrarian scheme were to be "on hand" to vote down the resolutions, were ridiculously few and feeble, and called forth a general laugh. A motion was then made and carried, that the several papers in our

City and State be requested to copy the proceedings, and the meeting adjourned.

We refer to the resolutions as not only admirable in themselves, but as expressing the sober sense of the great majority of our People on the "new issue." The City of Milwaukee, in the proceedings of this meeting, has stamped the seal of her disapprobation upon the Land Limitation bill, now under discussion at Madison. It was especially important and desirable that Milwaukee should do this since it was one of her own Representatives who introduced the measure into the Legislature. If from this circumstance any persons have inferred that such a bill embodied the sentiments and met the approval of our citizens, the meeting of Saturday night will dispel the idle dream. Milwaukee, by her Merchants, her Mechanics, her Business and Working men, by all parties, professions and classes, by the largest and most respectable meeting ever held in her midst, indignantly repudiates this Agrarian project; protests, with one voice, against its adoption, and calls upon her Senators and Representatives in the Legislature to heed her voice, to be true to her interests, and to crush, at once and effectually, this incipient crusade against the Rights of Property, the Rewards of Labor and the honor and welfare of the State.

We annex the official account of the proceedings:

At a very large and respectable meeting of the citizens of the city of Milwaukee, held at Gardiner's Hall on the evening of February 15, 1851; to consider and discuss the project now pending before the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin, called the Land Limitation Bill, D. H. Chandler was called to preside over the meeting as Chairman, and Jasper Vliet was appointed Secretary. After the meeting had become organized,

on motion of Mr. Button, a resolution was adopted for the appointment of a committee of five to prepare and report Resolutions for the consideration of the meeting, whereupon the Chair appointed Col. H. Crocker, John Furlong, Edward Button, J. F. Gruenhagen, and Charles H. Larkin such Committee.

The Committee immediately retired, and in the meantime the Chair stated the object of the assemblage of the citizens.

The Committee reported the following Resolutions, and the Chair declared them to be in order for discussion and consideration by the meeting:

RESOLVED, that the evils inflicted on many States of the old hemisphere, by the feudal grants and tenures of Lands and by the laws of primogeniture and of entails, which have to a calamitous extent, made the soil, from generation to generation, the inheritance of a small and privileged order, can never find a foot-hold in this free State, where no privileged class exists, where large grants of land are unknown, where, with few and insignificant exceptions, all titles to Land come by purchase and are the chief investment which industry finds for its surplus earnings, where entails are unknown, where the distributive rule of inheritance divides and subdivides estates at each succeeding generation and where, as well from the nature of our institutions as from the character of our people, no system of agricultural tenancy can ever find its way; and that while we freely give our sympathies and our prayers to the impoverished people who suffer abroad under remaining fruits of the feudal system, we, who do not share their grievances, cannot consent to import from them those movements which there may be the beginnings of necessary political revolution, but which here are a simple crusade against the rights of Labor and of Property.

RESOLVED, that the law of nature knows no property; that in our political system all property, whether in land or in movables, is a right which society creates for the recompense of Labor; that with us all property is simply industry rewarded with its just fruits, and that every infringement upon the rights of property is an infringement upon the rights of labor.

RESOLVED, that property is among the strongest bonds which hold society together, and that every attack upon the rights of property tends to unsettle the foundations of society, and that no State can be prosperous at home, or honored abroad, in which the rights of property are not held sacred.

RESOLVED, that in a free State, peopled by an enlightened and enterprising race, where all men have the same civil and political rights and the rewards of labor are equally within the reach of all, no class needs legislative protection against the industry, skill, or enterprise of another class; but that every limitation of the right to acquire, or transmit property, by setting bounds to the rewards of industry, checks individual enterprise and energy, and impedes the general prosperity of the community.

RESOLVED, that there is no difference in principle between limiting the acquisition of land and limiting the acquisition of any other species of property: it is true that man cannot create land, but also true that he can create no other thing: Nature is the sole creator, man can but use, combine or apply; and if it be just, or politic to limit human industry in the acquisition of land, it is equally just and politic to limit it in the acquisition of every other species of property, and we, in Wisconsin, busy in the middle of the nineteenth century, in the resurrection of the almost forgotten social absurdities of antiquity, when we have resuscitated the

Licinian Law, repudiated by Rome over two thousand years ago, should in common consistency astonish the world by the spectacle of disinterring and revivifying the whole theory of sumptuary Laws from the ruins of centuries of exploded error.

RESOLVED, that in these views we heartily condemn the Land Limitation Bill, now pending in the Legislature of this State, because it not only sets bounds to the future rewards of industry, but also impairs the rights of present property in Land by limiting the power of transmission.

RESOLVED, that this Law if passed will speedily exhibit the first fruits of a crusade against the rights and acquisition of property, by repelling the emigration of labor and of capital to this State; by depressing the value and diminishing the saleable character of Land; by disorganizing all the relations of industry and property and by fastening every where abroad upon this State the name of a fickle and fool-hardy undertaker of speculative and reckless experiments upon her own wealth, prosperity and honor.

Harlow S. Orton, Arthur McArthur, Jonathan E. Arnold, and James S. Brown, Esqrs., were loudly and consecutively called upon to speak to the question, and they severally eloquently discussed the pending proposition. After which the Resolutions were re-read and enthusiastically adopted. On motion of Asahel Finch, Esq., the following Resolution was adopted:

RESOLVED, that the proceedings of this meeting be published, and that the different newspapers throughout this State be requested to copy them.

After which the meeting was adjourned.

D. H. CHANDLER, President.—JASPER VLIET, Secretary.

Milwaukee *Daily Sentinel and Gazette*, March 10, 1851. "Bursting of a Bubble."

The Land Limitation humbug received its quietus at the hands of the Assembly on Friday last. While its fate is still fresh in the public recollection, it may be worth while to recall the circumstances of its origin, progress, decline and fall. The bill was introduced into the Assembly by Mr. Wilson, representative from the First Ward in this City, on the 28th of January. It proposed to limit every man's possessions to 320 acres in the country, or two lots in a village, town, or city; and to punish any contumacious individual who should presume to own, or occupy more. After a very brief and hasty discussion, and in the full persuasion, no doubt, that the humbug was to be eminently popular, the bill was ordered to a third reading (usually a test vote) by yeas 39, to nays 19; more than two to one. The public, who had looked quietly on while this piece of Tom Foolery was enacting, were led to believe, from this vote, that the Assembly were in earnest. They were not slow to express their opinions, adverse to the measure, and the roll of the popular thunder began to be heard and heeded at the Capitol. The press did its share towards "agitating" the subject, and administered some pretty severe flagellations to the Assembly, for its hot and headlong speed in progressing backwards. In this City, to be sure, our contemporaries of the *Commercial*, *Free Democrat*, *Volksfreund* and *Banner* all declared for the bill; and even the *Wisconsin*, mistaking, at first, the set of the popular current, made sundry "favorable allusions to the probability" of its passage. But its natural horror of minorities soon brought it right again, and after a brief pause on the fence, to take breath, the *Wisconsin* jumped over to our side, and

finding the bill dead, valiantly and vigorously attacked the carcase.

These indications of the public sentiment were not lost upon the House. The most earnest friends of the bill began to falter and fall off. It was amended in sundry particulars, and then put out at nurse, in the humane expectation that the Judiciary Committee would starve or strangle it. But the opponents of this Agrarian scheme had no idea of permitting it to be thus spirited off and secretly made way with. They deemed it deserving of public execution. Accordingly the Judiciary Committee was instructed to report it back to the House. The majority of that Committee reported that they deemed the bill unconstitutional and that it ought not to pass. The minority, its own good friends, Messrs. Jenkins and Estabrook, reported that the bill was, in their judgment, constitutional, but that, as the People were not prepared for it, the best way was to let it lie quietly on the table! The Assembly, by the emphatic vote of 42 to 24, promptly refused to respite the monster, and immediately afterwards, by yeas 39 to nays 27, put the knife to its throat. So much for a "sober second thought"! We congratulate the Assembly upon its return to reason.

(3) Ohio.

New York *Daily Tribune*, March 4, 1853, p. 5.

Cincinnati, Tuesday, March 1, 1853. . . . During the past 18 months I have traveled in Ohio, Michigan, Illinois and Indiana about three-fourths of the time, advocating Land Reform and Free Schools, and have held over 350 meetings. In no place have I failed to find staunch friends of Land Reform in its most radical import. In no place have I succeeded in calling out any opposition, though the plainest challenge has been

given. In no place have the doctrines failed to appear self-evidently true to all who have listened—as far as I know. . .

The friends of Land Limitation commenced petitioning the Legislature of Ohio the present session, and a large number have been presented. Operations will be actively continued in the State during the present year, and the number of petitions at the next session will rank next to those on the Maine Liquor Law. . . It is proposed to fix or limit the amount which any farmer may acquire to one hundred acres, and make occupancy and personal use conditions of ownership, so that no man in the city can acquire land in the country. . .

In Cincinnati the German Americans are moving in a strong force, and active measures are now being taken to organize the friends of this great cause for efficient action. In the city the evils of Land Monopoly are more apparent than in the country. . .

I regret the necessity of calling the organs of so called Free-soilism to an account for almost entirely overlooking Land Reform—for utterly neglecting to advocate its doctrines. Very few of them have asserted (except by copying the Pittsburgh Platform) the natural right of every one to share in the bounties of Providence, and the necessity for Land Limitation. The most that the Era has done is to sneer at Land Reformers. Mr. Baily has given no evidence, that I have seen, of his belief that Land Reform is anything more than a humbug charity to the poor! I have no respect for that kind of Free Soil that is Southward exclusively. It is no Free Soil at all: for abolishing the slavery of chains without abolishing Land Monopoly is not adding much to the world's freedom. L. A. HINE.

(e) THE FEDERAL CONGRESS

(1) Session of 1846.

(i) Working Men's Memorial.

Congressional Globe, 29th Congress, first session, March 9, 1846, p. 471.

Mr. Herrick asked and obtained leave to present the memorial of the National Reform Association of the United States, and moved that it be referred to the Committee on Public Lands, and be printed. A division of the question was ordered.

Mr. H., in offering the memorial, prefaced it by saying that the memorial was sent from the city of New York; that it related to the public lands; that it was a question that had elicited of late much attention, and the reasoning of the memorial was clear that some action relative to this great inheritance was indespensable; that speculators were now abroad, and the time was not distant when they would be engrossed unless speedy action be had. The memorialists desire that the public lands be held as they now are, by the whole people; and that any person who has no land be allowed to take and use a small quantity, and possess the right to sell at any time his improvements, but in no instance to sell to any person possessing any other land, and thereby raising up a great landed democracy; and that they earnestly request the printing.

The petition was referred to the Committee on Public Lands; but the printing was refused.

(ii) Andrew Johnson's Bill.

Congressional Globe, July 10, 1846, p. 1077.

Mr. A. Johnson moved the following amendment to the amendment:

That every person, who is the head of a family, shall, from and after the passage of this act, be entitled to enter, free of cost, one quarter section of vacant and un-

appropriated public land, or a quantity equal thereto, to be located in a body, in conformity with the legal subdivisions of the public lands.

Section 2. And be it further enacted, that the person applying for the benefit of this act shall, upon application to the register of the land office in which he is about to make such entry, make affidavit before the said register that he is the head of a family, and destitute of means to purchase a quantity equal to a quarter section of land, and shall, in addition thereto, furnish a certificate of three respectable householders that he is a poor man, the head of a family, and of good moral character; and, making the affidavit above required, and filing this certificate with the register, he shall thereupon be permitted to enter the quantity of land already specified: Provided, however, that no certificate or receipt shall be given, nor patent issued therefor, until the expiration of four years from the date of entry; and if at the expiration of such time the person making such entry shall prove by two credible witnesses that he has continued to reside upon and cultivate said land, and still resides upon the same, and has not alienated the same, or any part thereof, then in such case he shall be entitled to a certificate and patent as in other cases.

Section 3. And be it further enacted, that on the expiration of four years from the date of the register's certificate, the applicant, or his or her attorney, may apply for and obtain a patent for the land: Provided satisfactory proof is made to the register that the applicant is residing on the land for which the patent is required.

Section 4. And be it further enacted, that the register shall keep a registry of all such entries, and make

return thereof to the General Land Office, together with the proof upon which they have been founded.

Section 5. And be it further enacted, that all lands entered by, and granted to, any person under the provisions of this act free of cost shall be and remain forever exempt and free from the debts and liabilities of the person to whom the same shall be granted, and from all levies, seizures, and sales of every kind for, and on account of, such debts and liabilities. And such lands, upon the death of the person to whom the same shall have been granted, shall descend to, and the right and title thereto shall be vested in, the widow and children of the person to whom the lands were granted under the laws in such cases of the State in which the land shall be situated.

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

(iii) The Measures contrasted.
New York *Weekly Tribune*, March 21, 1846, p. 3, col. 4.

Our regret that the House of Representatives refused to print the Memorial of the National Reformers for a radical change in our Public Land System, has already been expressed. That memorial, we understand, was drawn up with great care and force, and embodies propositions which will not be treated with contempt when the People shall have heard and comprehended them. We regret this slight the more, because the House is manifestly in want of that very information which this memorial would have supplied. Messrs. McConnell of Ala. and Johnson of Tenn. evidently suppose they are acting in accordance with the purpose of the National Reformers in proposing to make a gift of 160 acres of Public Lands in fee simple to every landless citizen who will claim it. But they could not be more utterly mistaken. The Reformers demand that all monopoly of and speculation in the Lands yet

Public shall be stopped, henceforth and forever. They do not ask merely that landless men of to-day may be provided with a Home, but that the best possible provision shall be made for future generations also. Now this proposal to give every landless man 160 acres of Public Land outright and leave all the lands subject to unlimited speculation and monopoly, would, if successful, afford a little present gratification and possibly relief at the expense of infinite miseries and privation in the future. Nearly all the Landless are needy; many of them are improvident; not a few are dissipated. To offer each a quarter section of Public Land as a free gift with liberty to sell the fee simple to any one, would be simply enabling the speculator to obtain at second-hand for a few dollars what now costs him hundreds, and thus to monopolize Counties instead of Townships. All this ground has been gone over once in the case of the Military Bounty Lands which cost the soldiers an ample consideration in fatigue, privation and blood, and were in good part sold by them for a twentieth part of their value. Ten years after they were granted or drawn, not one of the soldiers in ten held an acre of these Lands—probably few of them held any at all. To give every body who chooses a quarter section outright of the National Domain, with liberty to dispose of it and come again, is in effect to squander that great inheritance more wastefully than hitherto. We are sure the Reformers would never consent to this; certainly we could not.

(2) Debates on the Homestead Bill, 1852.

(i) Eastern Wage-earners.

Congressional Globe, April 8, 1852, p. 1022. Hon. Joseph R. Chandler, of Pennsylvania.

. . . Ten years ago, when some one proposed a measure like this, the public press poured ridicule upon a scheme which was denominated "the vote-yourself-a-

farm project," a sort of Hellenic verbal composition, which was at once expressive of the supposed object of the author, and the contempt of the opposer; but *tempora mutantur*, and *nos mutamur cum illis*. That is, "the tenure of our public lands has changed, and opinions, it is evident, are changing with them." . . I shall be told, perhaps, that few of the loafers of the city will go to the far West to toil upon the unbroken land. Probably the far West would not mourn at such a refusal. But I do think that thousands would go, who, tarrying in the city, would become loafers in their own generation, and leave a nest of vagrants to perpetuate their crimes. It is to prevent, rather than to reform, that the "homestead" plan is proposed. . .

Congressional Globe, App., March 30, 1852, pp. 381, 382.
Hon. C. Skelton, of New Jersey.

. . . Now, sir, the great difficulty under which laborers suffer in our part of the country is, that there is too much competition. The laborer goes begging for the leave to toil. They enter into our market and underbid each other, and reduce the remuneration of labor, until they are compelled to work for a pittance which is not sufficient to sustain nature in the condition in which it ought to be sustained. But what will be the effect of throwing open these public lands upon this excess of labor in the Eastern States, and upon the men there who are bowed down in the dust, and who, by competition with each other, have reduced the price of their labor to the lowest possible point? . . . The honorable gentleman observed that these lands are the balance-wheel that regulates the labor of our country. Here I am happy to agree with the gentleman. Only for this, he says – and he has no doubt an intimate knowledge of the Eastern States – the laborer there would be trodden

vn and oppressed. That is the place to which men from oppression. It is the balance-wheel that preves our country from degradation and vice. Now, gree with the gentleman upon this ground, only with s difference, that his method, I believe, of regulating : balance-wheel is a bad one. If that is the place iere the poor and oppressed laborers of the older ıtes are to flee from heavy burdens, is it right to say ɨet yourself a home?"—for in selling the public lands u effectually exclude him, as it must be known to ev- / gentleman who is acquainted with the condition of : poor and laboring classes of the eastern cities. . . .

(ii) Eastern Capitalists.

Congressional Globe, App., April 22, 1852, pp. 729-738. Hon. J. Sutherland, of New York.

. . . Now, Mr. Chairman, I will not say, if we d a limited territory with a surplus of population; if ere was an abundance of labor instead of a scarcity; labor was here, waiting, looking for employment, in- :ad of demanding its own terms; if the price of labor as not increasing, while the price of the products of bor are diminishing; if, in consequence of this high ·ice of labor, "manufactures and other branches of dustry" did not claim protection against foreign com- :tition; and if it had not been the past policy of the overnment, and it was not thought now to be the pres- ıt and future policy of the Government, to afford that rotection, at least incidentally, by taxing through a 'stem of duties on foreign importations, the consumer ›r the benefit of the manufacturer, and thus indirectly ›mpelling the consumer to pay a portion of the wages aid by the manufacturer; if these "manufactures and ther branches of industry" thus protected, had not een, were not now, and were not likely to be, almost

the only markets for the products of our agricultural labor; whatever might be thought or said of the constitutionality and policy of this bill, yet I would not say that its title was wholly inconsistent with its provisions. But, in the present condition of things, and in view of the immense number of acres of unimproved land, comparatively near market, owned by individuals, companies, corporations, and States, now waiting for sale, settlement, and cultivation, and to bring about the sale, settlement, and cultivation of which, an immense capital has been invested in railroads and other internal improvements; I do say, that to call this bill (by which the Government, for the supposed benefit of the laborer and the landless, does nothing more nor less than offer a bonus to the laborer and landless to leave the manufactories, work-shops and farms in the old States, and settle on the public domain in the new States) "a bill to encourage agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and all other branches of industry," is a gross perversion of truth – that its title is wholly inconsistent with its real intent, object, and provisions. . . . What is this bill, then, Mr. Chairman? What ought it to be called? What ought to be its title? It is in fact a bill to grant to every man or widow in the United States, who is the head of a family, and has no land, and is not worth $500, one hundred and sixty acres of the public domain, on certain conditions, for his or her benefit, and thus more nearly equalize the distribution of property. It should be so entitled – it should be so called. . . .

. . . Who ask for it? Who demand it? Certain associations, called "Industrial Congresses" – offsprings of the German school of socialism, and of the American school of "higher law" transcendentalism – partly political, partly agrarian. Upon what ground do they

ask for it? Upon what ground do they demand it? They ask for it, as a gift, as a charity, to better their condition, and to enable them to live without working, at least for others; and, while they ask for it as a gift, as a charity, they at the same time demand it as a matter of right, for which, even if granted, they will owe no thanks to the Government; for they place their right to it upon the natural rights of man, and not upon the Constitution and laws of their country, or the charity of Congress. They ask and demand it upon grounds and theories of the natural rights of man, as I understand them, utterly inconsistent with that great principle, the recognition and security of individual property, which lies at the foundation of all civilized government not only, but of all civilized society; for upon the security of property hangs industry, the mother of all arts, of all science, of all wealth; the mother and supporter of all law, order, governments; of the virtues and charities of individuals, and of the wealth and power of nations, and without which, the whole earth would be but one moral and physical waste. . .

What is the difficulty with manufactures now? Why does even the manufacturer of iron ask for further protection? Is it a want of a market for his iron? Protect iron to any extent, and we will not be able, in years, to manufacture all the country will want. No; it is the cost of manufacturing it here that calls for the protection. And why the cost here? It is not the cost of the raw material – of the ore, or of the coal. It is, then, the cost of the labor – the high price of labor here. . .

I am not advocating now, either protection and low wages, or free trade and high wages; but my point is, that this homestead bill will take labor from the manu-

facturing States to the land States – from the manufactories of the East to the farms of the West – and thereby increase the cost of labor and the cost of manufacturing. . . . I think this bill is an attack on the rights of property, for I can see no difference in principle, in taking the property of A B and giving it to C D, because he has none; and taking the property of all the people of the United States, and giving it to those only who have no land. I look upon this bill as agrarian, and if it should become a law, as the first only of measures brought forward to more nearly equalize the distribution of property. . .

Congressional Globe, App., March 30, 1852, p. 390. Hon. T. J. D. Fuller, of Maine.

. . . Our present land system operates like a great balance-wheel upon our political institutions. It regulates the value of real property; it controls the wages of labor; and so long as one day's work will purchase an acre of productive land, and secure a certain and sure title, directly from the Government – eastern manufactures can never control the wages of labor. The value of real property in the agricultural regions of the older States is adjusted, in a great measure, by this system. As our population increases and becomes more dense, they will emigrate to this broad domain, occupy and cultivate the soil, establish schools and churches, and form settlements, and thereby avoid those evils incident to a more dense and thickly-settled country. But offering extraordinary and unusual inducements for settlement will not increase the number of good and reliable settlers. Such settlers multiply only by time and the natural course of events. I trust, sir, that our public domain may be long so held, and that our children, and our children's children, may always have the privilege

of resorting to it for settlement and support, and at an unvarying price, with a certainty of title, until the almost countless acres of our unoccupied domain shall be covered with a virtuous, industrious, and happy people.

(iii) Southern Poor Whites.

Congressional Globe, App. April 29, 1852, p. 530. Hon. A. Johnson, of Tennesee.

. . . When, therefore, I appeal to you in behalf of the poor North Carolinian, my own brother, I know his condition. I know something about the condition of the poor man in the State of Virginia, and elsewhere, who, with his wife and little ones, lives upon the corner of some man's farm, or upon some stony ledge, or some barren, piny plain, where, with his utmost toil upon his appointed spot of earth, he can make but a scanty subsistence to supply his necessities and those of his family. Gentlemen say here that you will by this bill take away the laboring man from the old States. Look at his condition. Do you not see, under the circumstances that surround him there, that his condition is unalterably fixed, and that he can never extricate himself from the iron grasp of poverty? Where is the man, abstractionist, North Carolinian, Virginian, or citizen of any other State, who has a heart that beats with love for his kind, and patriotism for his country, that could say to him, Do not go away; stay here in your poverty; do not go and settle upon the new, rich, and fertile lands of the West, but stay here, linger, wither, and die in your poverty, and where the only inheritance which you can leave to your children is your poverty.

Congressional Globe, App., April 29, 1852, p. 519. Hon. F. McMullin, of Virginia.

. . . But, notwithstanding I admit the force of the objection; notwithstanding I shall regret to see my

neighbors leave Virginia; notwithstanding I shall regret to see the hard-fisted yeomanry of the country—those citizens of Virginia who have been the tenants and the laborers for the land aristocrats of Virginia—paying to the swell-head aristocracy of Virginia from one third to one half of their labor in the shape of rent, I say, although I should regret very much to detract from the laboring population of Virginia, yet when the question presents itself, whether the industrious farmers and mechanics be permitted to better their condition by emigrating to the West, I cannot but answer in the affirmative. . . But I have seen so much of the condition of this class of laboring people in the State of Virginia, that I cannot do otherwise than assist by all the means in my power any proposition which looks to the improvement of the condition of those people. . . I know that the tenants contribute from one third to one half of their labor in the payment of rent. But, suppose you take away that portion of the population, what is to become of the landed interests of the State? Why, unless they own slaves or purchase them, the land must decrease in value, or they must go to work themselves. . .

(iv) Slave-owners.

Congressional Globe, April 8, 1852, pp. 1018-1020. Hon. Thomas H. Averett, of Virginia.

. . . Are the friends of this bill willing to be chained down to a constitutional view of the subject? No; I defy them to show the right under the Constitution, to take the public lands and give them to any one class of our people, except in consideration of public services. The effect of this measure would be to take that which belongs to the whole United States, and to all the people of the United States, and to give it to a

small class of the people of the United States, to the exclusion of the rest. . . This measure now before us professes to have for its object to give lands to the landless. Now, sir, from the bottom of my heart, I do deprecate all class legislation, especially by this Government, whether under the control of Whigs or Democrats. What right have we to classify our people? Is it not one of our fundamental doctrines that no exclusive privileges, or emoluments, or immunities, shall be granted except in consideration of public service? . . . Sir, I represent a rural district–a tax-paying, not a tax-consuming constituency, who have never been beggars at the footstool of this Government. In pampering your pets, you rob the people whom I serve; and as their Representative, I solemnly protest against your homestead bill, and every other measure of a like character. . . There is an effort to array the poor laborer against the capitalist and the property holder. It is an unrighteous warfare. I stand upon the position that the interest of the honest laborer is identical with that of the property holder, so far as the functions of this Government are concerned.

Congressional Globe, App., April 28, 1852, p. 526. Hon. J. S. Millson, of Virginia.

. . . This is a startling doctrine. Has every man a right to so much of the earth's surface as is necessary to his support, simply because he draws the sustenance from the earth? But if this were true, what would become of the millions whose means of sustaining life are not derived immediately from the soil? Of the mechanic, the merchant, the physician, the hunter, the mariner, the fisherman? They are practically excluded by this bill; are they also to be deprived of every other right to the soil, or to so much thereof, according to the

gentleman's proposition, as is necessary to their support? But how much is necessary to each man's support? Can the gentleman tell? The indolent may require more than the industrious man. Is he, therefore, entitled to a larger portion of the earth's surface? Is idleness to be thus rewarded? There is some difference, too, in the quality of lands: must the quantity allowed to each person, however, still be the same? But I beg the gentleman to consider how those persons are to be supported whose occupations do not allow them to till the soil, if those who cultivate it should only take enough for their own support. Nay, sir, where do we find a man who draws exclusively from his own land the means of his support? . . .

(v) Western Pioneers and Lumbermen.

Congressional Globe, App., April 24, 1852, p. 486. Hon. H. H. Sibley, of Minnesota.

. . . I know the character of the pioneer, and of the men who even now are on their way to the West, and I speak understandingly when I say, that it is such homes as this bill, if adopted, will create, which will ever remain the nurseries of that love of freedom, by which alone our present happy form of government can be perpetuated. From the abodes of the working classes of your inland population, there will issue, in the hour of danger to the country, a power not only self-sustaining, but abundantly able to bear the ship of State safely through all the storms that may beset her. . . But hitherto a course has been taken in direct opposition to this plan. The Government has watched its public domain with a jealous eye, and there are now enactments upon your statute-books, aimed at the trespasser upon it, which should be expunged as a disgrace to the country and to the nineteenth century. Especially is

he pursued with unrelenting severity, who has dared to break the silence of the primeval forest by the blows of the American axe. The hardy lumberman, who has penetrated the remotest wilds of the Northwest, to drag from their recesses, the materials for building up towns and cities in the great valley of the Mississippi, has been particularly marked out as a victim. After enduring all the privations, and subjecting himself to the perils incident to his vocation – when he has toiled for months to add, by his honest labor, to the comfort of his fellow-men, and to the aggregate wealth of the nation – he finds himself suddenly in the clutches of the law, for trespassing on the public domain. . .

(vi) Mid-west Farmers.

Congressional Globe, App., June 12, 1852, pp. 686-688. Hon. John Welch, of Ohio.

. . . My principal objection to this bill is, that it will depress the value of real estate, and do injustice to its owners. By taking away all price from the public lands and making them, like the air and the light, free to every one, and priceless to the extent at least of $1.25 per acre, you sink the value of all private lands. You make land, as land, of no value beyond the value of improvements upon or around it, or the peculiar advantages of its location.

If such had been the policy from the beginning – if unimproved lands had always been without price, and the public lands common to all – there would be no injustice in this measure. But a part of the lands of the country are already in the hands of private owners, and have a price to be effected by changes in the system of administering or disposing of them. About one third of the entire domain has passed into private hands at prices paid therefor. The remaining two thirds is the

joint property of all. Now, I submit that it is not just to these private owners, after receiving their money for a part of the public domain, to give their undivided interest therein, without their consent, to the other members of the partnership, without at least refunding the money they have paid. . . Another effect of the homestead bill will be to destroy the home market of the farmer. It offers a high bounty - the highest that could be offered - a farm - to all who are not now farmers to become such. Where are these new farmers to come from? . . . To induce renters, or hired laborers upon farms, to rent and occupy new farms, is simply to cultivate more land with the same force. It is to scatter the farmers over more territory. Do not all admit that we already cultivate too much ground, and do not cultivate it well enough? What agriculture needs in this country is a higher order of cultivation - more hands to the acre - denseness of population, and its civilizing and humanizing effects upon the people, and elevating effects upon the value of the lands and its productions. . . The new farmers, however, will come principally from the manufacturing and mechanical departments of labor; and in that event the effects will be still more disastrous to the agricultural interests. The operation will be simply, and inevitably, to increase the number of farmers and diminish the number in the other departments - to destroy competition among those who consume, and to increase competition among those who sell agricultural productions. The result must be a diminution of price for agricultural productions, and a consequent further diminution of the price of the land itself. . .

(vii) The "Father of the Republican Party."

Congressional Globe, App., March 30, 1852, pp. 426-428. Hon. G. A. Grow, of Pennsylvania.

. . . It may be said, True, such would be men's rights to the soil in a state of nature; but when he entered into society, he gave up a part of his natural rights, in order to enjoy the advantages of an organized community. This is a doctrine, I am aware, of the books and treatises on society and government; but it is a doctrine of despotism, and belongs not to enlightened statesmen in a liberal age. It is the excuse of the despot in encroaching upon the rights of the subject. He admits the encroachment, but claims that the citizen gave up part of his natural rights when he entered into society; and who is to judge what ones he relinquished but the ruling power? It was not necessary that any of man's natural rights should be yielded to the State in the formation of society. He yielded no right but the right to do wrong, and that he never had by nature. All he yielded in entering into society was a portion of his unrestrained liberty, and that was, that he would submit his conduct, that before was subject to the control of no living being, to the tribunals to be established by the State, and with the tacit consent that society, or the Government, might regulate the mode and manner of the exercise of his rights; but why should he consent to be deprived of them? It is upon this ground that we justify resistance to tyrants. And whenever the ruling power so far encroaches upon the natural rights of men that an appeal to arms becomes preferable to submission, they appeal from human to divine laws, and plead the natural rights of man in their justification. That Government, and that alone, is just which enforces and defends all of man's natural rights, and protects him against the wrongs of his fellow man. . . .

For if a man has a right on earth, he has a right to land enough to rear a habitation on. If he has a right to live, he has a right to the free use of whatever nature has provided for his sustenance – air to breathe, water to drink, and land enough to cultivate for his subsistence. For these are the necessary and indispensable means for the enjoyment of his inalienable rights, of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." . . The struggle between capital and labor is an unequal one at best. It is a struggle between the bones and sinews of men and dollars and cents; and in that struggle, it needs no prophet's ken to foretell the issue. And in that struggle, is it for this Government to stretch forth its arm to aid the strong against the weak? Shall it continue, by its legislation, to elevate and enrich idleness on the wail and the woe of industry? . . .

IV

HOURS OF LABOR

The ten-hour strikes of the thirties ended with the panic of 1837. The National Trades' Union at its convention of 1836 had determined to direct its political energies, not toward legislation by Congress but toward action by the Executive. The wisdom of this policy was seen in the executive order of Martin Van Buren, March 31, 1840.

But the Federal government could deal only with its own employees. It could not legislate for private employers. This was the part of the states. In Massachusetts the ten-hour strikes had not been as successful as in other states. In that state, too, the factory system had taken the lead of other states. The first petitions to the legislature originated with "citizens of Fall River" in 1842, showing that "in many manufacturing establishments more hours of labor are required than can be made consistent with the bodily health and the proper intellectual and moral improvement and well being of adults."[3] This was followed in 1843 by a petition of female operatives of Fall River praying for ten hours.[4] Nothing was done at either session. In 1844, the Mechanics' Association of Fall River took a different line of attack and addressed a circular to the mechanics of New England, calling for a Convention. This circular received widespread publicity and led to the organization of the New England Working Men's

[3] Massachusetts House. *Legislative Documents*, 1842, no. 4.

[4] Massachusetts House. *Archives*, 1843, no. 11659.

Association, later changed to the Labor Reform League of New England. An "Address" was adopted by the first Convention and issued to "their fellow mechanics and laborers throughout the United States," drafted under the Fourieristic influences of the Convention, and devoted to a criticism of "the present system of labor."[5] Brisbane, in the *Phalanx*, said, "We were highly gratified with the evident tendency of feeling among the members of the Convention toward associative principles, and the ready avidity with which all expressions of sentiment derived from these principles were received."[6] The subject of coöperation, in which the movement was finally to end, appeared for the first time at the Fall River Convention of September, 1845.

At the Lowell Convention in October, 1845, the principal action was the appointment of a Committee instructed to purchase the *Voice of Industry*, to be supported by the New England Association.[7]

The Convention at Manchester, N.H., March 25, 1846, accepted credentials of the Working Men's Protective Union of Boston, Labor Reform Association of Manchester, Industrial Reform Association of Lowell, and Female Labor Reform Association of Lowell. It adopted a resolution favoring reform "by the mild influence of reasonable concession and mutual arrangement of the parties interested." It endorsed again the Working Men's Protective Union, the Ten-hour Movement, and Freedom of the Public Lands, and rejected a resolution for political action. It voted thanks to those ministers of the gospel who had attended its session, and asked their coöperation, and appointed a com-

[5] The *Awl*, Nov. 9, 1844.

[6] *Phalanx*, Dec. 9, 1844, p. 302.

[7] *True Working Man*, Dec. 27, 1845.

mittee of correspondence on Ways and Means to carry the Ten-hour System into effect, consisting of Seth Luther, A. J. Wright, of Boston, and W. F. Young, editor of the *Voice of Industry*.

The Convention of January, 1847, was held at Boston. It endorsed Protective Unions, ten hours, free land, free trade, "the circulation of high toned, philosophical and moral publications, and the support of faithful, devoted and competent lecturers, to diffuse light among the working people." The Fourth Report of the Female Labor Reform Association in Manchester showed three hundred members, and strong opposition to the premium system in the mills. Among the speakers were "the venerable Dr. Channing and Amasa Walker."

The Convention of March, 1847, was held at Lowell. It endorsed the homestead movement, protective unions, and land reform, and appointed a delegate to the Industrial Congress.[8] The last meeting of which there is record was held at Dover, N.H., in July, 1847. The attendance was small and the discussion scattering.[9]

In 1852 a state convention was held, devoted wholly to the Ten-hour Movement, and an address was issued to the people of Massachusetts.

One of the first results of the New England Working Men's Association, and the petitions which it circulated, was the investigation in 1845 by a committee of the Massachusetts Legislature. This was followed by reports of similar committees in 1846, 1850, 1852, 1853, and 1855, hostile to legislation, although minority reports were filed. By a concerted action the proprietors of textile mills at Lowell reduced the hours in 1847, by allowing longer time for dinner. In the same year, the

[8] *Voice of Industry*, April 9, 23, 1847.

[9] *Voice of Industry*, July 30, 1847.

first legislation on the subject was enacted by New Hampshire, followed by Pennsylvania in 1848, New Jersey in 1851, Ohio in 1852, Rhode Island in 1853. The characteristic features and the futility of these early laws are illustrated by the documents relating to New Hampshire and Pennsylvania, and the address of the Ten-hours Convention of 1852. During this period there were many isolated instances of reduction of hours secured by strikes and trade agreements.

I. VAN BUREN'S TEN-HOUR ORDER

(a) EXECUTIVE ORDER

Richardson. *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, vol. iii, 602.

Washington City, March 31, 1840. The President of the United States, finding that different rules prevail at different places as well in respect to the hours of labor by persons employed on the public works under the immediate authority of himself and the Departments as also in relation to the different classes of workmen, and believing that much inconvenience and dissatisfaction would be removed by adopting a uniform course, hereby directs that all such persons, whether laborers or mechanics, be required to work only the number of hours prescribed by the ten-hour system.

M. VAN BUREN.

(b) VAN BUREN'S INTERPRETATION

Niles's Register, Sept. 26, 1840, p. 59. Letter to certain political inquirers.

The ten-hour system, originally devised by the mechanics and laborers themselves, has by my direction been adopted, and uniformly carried out at all public establishments, and . . . this mitigation of labor has been accompanied by no corresponding reduction of wages. I also caused it to be distinctly intimated in the month of March last, to the officers of such of these establishments as might contemplate a reduction of wages, that in my opinion the present peculiarly uncertain state of things, which it is believed results from circumstances that cannot be permanent in their operation, does not present a just and proper basis for a reduction of wages.

2. THE TEN-HOUR MOVEMENT IN NEW ENGLAND

(a) CIRCULAR OF THE FALL RIVER MECHANICS

Working Man's Advocate, June 29, 1844; quoted from the Fall River *Mechanic*.

The Mechanics of Fall River, to their Brethren and Friends abroad, Greeting: Believing that the long established, unjust and prevailing system of labor in this country, is at war with the real interest of man's physical, intellectual, social, moral and religious being; and believing that the oppressed and down trodden state of our fellow Mechanics is the legitimate result of this system; and that many of the evils of our several communities, together with their serious and mournful effects, are attributable to the same cause; and having taken the subject into consideration, as we trust, in the spirit of candid investigation, with a desire to know the whole truth with reference to this matter, independent of all former prejudices and prepossessions, from a sense of duty, which we owe individually to ourselves, our fellows and our God, do send forth this Circular to the Mechanics of New England particularly, and all others interested, for the special purpose of directing their immediate attention to the importance and even necessity of calling a Convention of Mechanics, as soon as possible, to meet in some central part of New England, for the purpose of concerting measures by which we may act jointly and efficiently in our humble endeavors to point out a "more excellent" system of labor than that which has so long prevailed, and thus, under God, remove the "heavy burdens" which have long

rested upon us and our children, and "let the oppressed go free." The necessity of such a course is further seen, in the following facts which we very respectfully beg leave to present before you.

1. The system of labor to which we have alluded in our preamble, requiring of the Mechanic and Laborer of New England from twelve to fifteen hours labor per diem, is more than the physical constitution of man can bear, generally speaking, and preserve a healthy state. In confirmation of this statement, we have only to acquaint ourselves with the bill of mortality which is annually rendered through the public journals of the day, with the employment of those who have died – the nature of the disease which terminated their earthly existence, and then ascertain the cause, the first cause of all this, and we shall find that at least three-fifths of all the deaths which occur among us, are attributable, either directly or indirectly, to the prevailing system of labor by which we are governed: (of course we are speaking of adult cases) and yearly there are thousands who come down to a premature grave, almost wholly in consequence of that system of labor against which it is our duty to contend, and which levies such a heavy tax upon the physical strength of man as to render him wholly unable to pay. But this is not all. The influence of that system of labor on which we are treating, is such as must of necessity extinguish the intellectual fire which heaven designed should burn and blaze upon and in every soul of man. Whence is it, that so few, when compared with the great number of Mechanics and Laborers in this country, enjoy the pleasures and lasting benefits resulting from a regular and systematic course of study? Whence is it, that they are denied these privileges but in consequence of the old system of manual

labor? The simple fact is, they have been, and they still are over-worked, and hence are unfitted for deep thought, systematic study, and real mental culture. In conclusion, therefore, on this point, you will allow us to add, that in our humble estimation, from the above named considerations, it becomes us as Mechanics and Laborers in New England, to exert our utmost endeavors to establish a new system of labor by which our sacred rights may be secured, and in the adoption of which, man, "the noblest work of God," may more fully and effectually answer the end and object of his being.

2. Another reason which we would assign, showing the necessity of calling a Convention as above suggested, is the fact, that we are fast approximating towards the disagreeable, servile and degrading state of the English laborer.

Nabobs in England do not oppress and grind the face of the poor more than is done in this country, because they are worse than are American nabobs! The riches of the affluent in Great Britain, are no more "corrupted" in proportion to their power over the working classes, than are the riches of the wealthy among us, in proportion to their power over the laboring communities in which we reside. The hire of the laborer in this country "is kept back by fraud:" and the cries of them which have been shamefully oppressed have "entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth." The downtrodden Mechanic and Laborer of New England, with their wives and little ones, have frequently had cause – nay more, they have cause daily to weep over the condition that awaits them, unless man arises speedily to the work of reform, and heaven interposes ere long, to crush, annihilate, forever destroy that system which is fast carrying us forward to the disagreeable, servile and

degrading condition of the English laborer. But we have only space to glance at the several points to which we would direct your attention in this brief Circular.

3. A reform can only be brought about by a general concert of action: and in order to concert measures by which the laboring classes may be elevated, it is essential that we meet in convention as already proposed. The present, affords a favorable opportunity to all persons who feel at all interested in the general good of the whole people, for giving a free expression of their views and peculiar feelings on this subject, and of securing joint efforts to carry forward a thorough and effectual change in relation to the present system of labor in New England. The time has never been since the adoption of the present system, when public sympathies have been awakened, and when a general interest has been created to such an extent in behalf of the working classes, as at the present time. We are aware however, that our opposers have never arrayed themselves against us in greater hostility than recently; but this fact has contributed, largely contributed to bring the subject in its true light directly before the people; so that all which is needed in order to consummate the great work of reform speedily and triumphantly, is decision, fixedness of purpose on the part of the Mechanics and Laborers themselves. And as Editors of papers are the every day teachers of the People – and as the Press possesses power to nerve up, to encourage, to strengthen, to arm with moral power and energy the laboring classes; in the name of suffering humanity – the bleeding rights of thousands – the dearest interest of the People – in the name of God, of religion and justice, we call upon the Editors and Publishers of papers to direct the mighty force of the Press in defence of the rights of the

poor, the down-trodden Mechanics and Laborers in New England, and in fact throughout our common country. In our view of the subject, Editors can do much toward effecting a reform in the present system of labor, by recommending the formation of Associations for the social, moral and intellectual improvement of the laboring classes – by asserting their rights – by making known to the world their injuries caused by the iron hand of Avarice – by contending for the great principle assumed by the Declaration of Independence, that "All men are created free and equal," and in brief, by endeavoring to raise them to that point in the scale of being which God originally designed for all, viz: The common ground of equality, man with man.

Lastly – The benefits that might, and which of necessity would result from a New England Convention, providing every town and city could be represented, are incalculable. A general system could be devised; our general views could be expressed and understood; our strength could be properly estimated; union unquestionably could be secured throughout the whole body; by our presence we should cheer and encourage each other; funds could be raised to carry forward the objects of the body at large; the united wisdom and judgment of the various Mechanics' Associations could be brought together, and, in a word, the foundation laid for usefulness, happiness and prosperity, for ourselves and posterity, as physical, intellectual, social, moral and religious beings.

We, therefore, in consideration of the above facts, recommend to the Mechanics of the different towns and cities in New England, to form themselves into Associations, and take active measures in relation to a general Convention, and we now offer the following Call

to be signed by Mechanics and others who are favorable to the elevation of the Laboring Classes.

CALL. We, the Undersigned, desiring the elevation of the Working Classes of New England, do hereby agree to give our aid, countenance and support to a Convention to be held for the above named purpose.

We would also request all Associations or individuals, who may take action in relation to this, to send to the Mechanics' Association in Fall River, the number of names they may obtain to the above, and the probable number of those who would attend the Convention.

BENJ. T. CHACE, THOMAS ALMY,
CHARLES BORDEN, WILBUR READ, Committee.
In behalf of the Mechanics' Association. Fall River, June, 1844.

(b) NEW ENGLAND WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION, FIRST CONVENTION, BOSTON, OCTOBER, 1844.

(1) Proceedings.
Working Man's Advocate, Oct. 19, 1844.

Our readers were informed, by notices in our last paper, that several delegates were appointed by the National Reform Association and the Spartan Band to attend the Working Men's Convention at Boston. Mr. Walsh, from the Spartans, Mr. Devyr, editor of the *National Reformer*, Mr. Bovee, and George H. Evans, from the National Reform Association, proceeded to Boston in pursuance of the appointments; Mr. Commerford, we regret to say, could not make it convenient to go. We arrived in Boston in due season, and were present in Faneuil Hall at the opening of the Convention, having been received with a hearty welcome by our Boston friends on reporting ourselves. The time of meeting was half past 10 o'clock, a.m., on Wednesday, and soon after that hour there were several hundred

delegates present from the following places: Boston, South Boston, Fall River, New Bedford, Worcester, So. Andover, Newton Upper Falls, Milton, Lynn, Redding, Lowell, Marblehead, Chelsea, Brook Farms, and No. Chelmsford, Massachusetts; Paukatuck and Stonington, Connecticut; Pawtucket, Rhode Island; Manchester and Nashua, New Hampshire; and Skaneateles and New York City, New York. Delegations from several other places arrived during the day. Among the most numerous delegations were those from Fall River, Lynn, and Lowell, who came into the Hall in procession, bearing banners, with appropriate mottoes, which were arranged near the President's seat under the full length portraits of Washington, Hancock, and other revolutionary worthies. One of the Lowell Banners was inscribed on one side with the words "We know and claim our Rights;" on the other side, in beautiful gold letters, "Union is Strength;" and here we cannot help noticing a most gratifying incident connected with this banner. In the early part of the proceedings, a discussion arose on a point of order, and some of the speakers exhibited considerable warmth in the debate: in the midst of a rather fiery speech one of the delegates stepped up to the rostrum, and reversed the banner, which had previously rested with the Union motto towards the wall. The effect was electric: a universal burst of applause shook the building, which was several times repeated, and the discussion was soon ended.

The following brief account of the proceedings of the Convention is all that we can find room for in today's paper.

FIRST DAY. The Convention was called to order by Mr. Wright of the Boston Association, when George

M. Hatch, of Lowell, was appointed Chairman, and Thomas P. Almy, of Fall River, secretary. A committee of twenty-two, (one from each Association which then had delegates present) was appointed to nominate officers for the Convention, who reported the following: Mr. Wright of Boston for President; Messrs. Munroe of Lynn, Spofford of Lowell, Roberts of South Andover, Evans of New York, Coles of Stonington, Smith of Manchester, and Goodwin of Marblehead, for Vice Presidents; and Allen of Lowell, Cox of Boston, and Almy of Fall River, Secretaries.

The nominees of the committee were adopted unanimously by the Convention.

A proposition to admit Horace Seaver, Editor of the Boston *Investigator*, as a delegate to the Convention from the Social Reform Association of Boston, was rejected, after a short discussion, by a vote of 76 to 64. Among the reasons given for the rejection of Mr. Seaver, was, that he was a member of the Working Men's Association of Boston, which was already represented in the Convention, but we fear that sectarian prejudice was the principal cause, as it is well known, as was stated on the occasion, that Mr. Seaver has done much, perhaps more than any other man, to support the cause of labor in Boston.

A business committee of seven, and a committee of one from each delegation to draft resolutions and an address, were appointed; on the latter were Messrs. Devyr and Walsh of New York. . .

The Convention then proceeded to discuss the resolution in favor of memorializing the legislatures to prevent corporations from employing persons more than ten hours a day.

Mr. Allen, of South Boston, opposed the resolu-

tion. . . The resolution was further discussed by Messrs. Persse of Fall River, Taylor of Skaneateles, Buffum of Lynn, Ripley of Brook Farms, Godwin of Boston, Walsh of New York, Dixey of Marblehead, Holbach of Boston, and others, till the hour of adjournment.

SECOND DAY. In the morning session, the Ten Hour resolution was again discussed by Messrs. Evans of New York, Cooper of Lynn, Gregory and Persse of Fall River, Ryckman of Brook Farms, Birbeck of Chelsea, Dixey of Marblehead, Hatch of Lowell, Cooper of Fall River, and Crier of Andover, and was finally adopted, after the rejection of several amendments, by a vote of 75 to 22. . .

The three great objects we had in view in attending this Convention were, first, measures to bring about the Freedom of the Public Lands, as a means to abolish the Monopoly of the Soil, the greatest source of crime and misery on earth; secondly, as a temporary measure, the restriction of hired Labor, as far as practicable, to ten hours a day; and, third - a general organization of useful laborers throughout the union.

With respect to our first object, we were agreeably surprised to find that it had many warm friends in the convention, who saw it, as we see it, the most important measure to rally upon; many others favorable to it, but having favorite projects which they considered of more importance; and others to whom the subject was new, but who, we trust, were converted by the brief exposition which our delegates were enabled to give of it in the short period allotted to them; and, whether the resolution is passed or not, we are satisfied that the subject of it has taken that firm hold on the minds of many of the delegates that will cause them to disseminate the doctrine of the Redemption of the Soil throughout New England.

Our second object, to reduce the hours of compulsory labor, was entirely in unison with the feelings of our New England friends, the only question being as to whether the matter should be carried into politics, and a large majority being in favor of the true policy, as we consider it, of using the ballot box to redress a wrong inflicted by erroneous legislation.

In pursuance of our third object, a National Union, we offered a resolution to adjourn the Convention, as a National one, to New-York city next May; but, finding that many considered the Convention rather in the light of a New-England one, and that they were desirous to have another New-England Convention previous to that period for local purposes, and at the same time in favor of a National Convention, we withdrew our motion in accordance with their suggestion that the general movement should originate in New-York. . .

There was a display of talent in the Convention that we were unprepared for, and that would have put to the blush some of our lawyer-legislatures. As might have been expected, however, there was a lack of knowledge of parliamentary rules that caused considerable loss of time; but, on the whole, the Convention may be considered as a glorious commencement of a second Revolution in this country; a peaceful revolution, it is true, but one the importance of which has never been excelled by any revolution in the world's history.

Among the eloquent speeches delivered in this Convention, we cannot avoid mentioning that of Mr. Ripley, President of the Brook Farms Association, and one of Mr. Cooper of the Fall River delegation, which was replete with sound views of principle and of policy.

(2) Resolutions.

The *Awl*, Oct. 23, 1844; quoted from the Boston *Daily Bee*.

Whereas, all men being endowed with the same nat-

ural capacities, and possessing in common with each other, the same physical, mental and moral wants, are therefore entitled to an equal exercise and gratification of them;

And, whereas, the existing relations of society, which deprive the laborer of the wealth his own industry creates, which compels him to wear out his existence, exposed to the degrading influences resulting from constant, unalleviated toil, which excludes him from an indulgence in the graceful recreations and cultivated pleasures of social intercourse--which discourages mental exertion, and closes up the path to intellectual pursuits—and which inevitably tends to destroy all energy of mind, to crush the most generous aspirations, and to wither up and debase the sweetest and noblest affections of the heart.

And, being persuaded that the social organization which produces results so pernicious and demoralizing—which acts so injuriously upon the interests, and violates so flagrantly the most valuable rights, of those engaged in the useful, necessary and honorable occupation of manual labor, is founded in neither justice nor reason; is required by no essential law of human association, far less can be sanctioned by any providence of God; and assuming as self-evident that the cruel hardships to which the laboring classes are subjected, are continued only through the indifference, ignorance and lethargy of themselves; that the remedy for these abuses is apparent and simple, and is to be found in a general and thorough organization of the laboring classes, for the purpose of defending their interests and securing to their own enjoyment the constant wealth which their own honest and honorable industry produces, with a view to the attainment of these objects.

RESOLVED, that the time now devoted to manual labor is unreasonable and unjust, is equally destructive to physical health and mental vigor, and requiring long continued and excessive physical exertion, amounts to a denial of the invaluable right every man should possess to an opportunity for recreation, social enjoyment and is an abuse which demands immediate correction.

RESOLVED, that we deem it expedient to memorialize our legislatures to pass a law that shall prohibit any corporation from employing any person more than ten hours per day.

RESOLVED, that we recommend to our brother mechanics and laborers throughout the country, (who are not already associated), immediately to organize for the purpose of defending our common interests, to vindicate labor from reproach—to secure to the laborer a more just equivalent for his toil—for moral and intellectual improvement—to investigate the causes of the present fearful and still daily increasing disparities of social condition, and to inquire why it has been and is, that the workingmen in society, by whose labor all wealth is produced, on whose industry rests the arts of civilized life, are condemned to occupy the meanest position in that society, are stigmatized as ignorant and inferior, and universally regarded as the Helots of capital.

RESOLVED, that as by the present system of labor, the interests of capital and labor are opposed, the former now securing the reward which should only belong to the latter; that we recommend the formation of practical associations, in which working men can use their own capital, work their own stock, establish their own hours, and have their own price.

RESOLVED, that in the opinion of this convention, the present inequality and injustice of society, the abject

dependence of honest, willing industry upon idle, non-producing capitalists, is a great source of crime, misery, and degradation on earth; and that all attempts to elevate and render the poverty-bowed millions who now toil and starve, can, at best, but partially tend to the accomplishment of that great end, until the shameful and sacrilegious monopoly of the soil is entirely abolished, and the public lands which are now held by the government are retained for actual settlement to the people, for whom they are but kept in trust, and thousands of whom now actually pine in want from an inability to obtain a sufficient amount of compensation.

RESOLVED, that while we pledge ourselves as workingmen to spare no just effort for the reduction of the bonds of labor, we look forward to the time when by the introduction of a system of attractive industry, a system in which every laborer has a direct personal interest in the fruits of his labor; in which all the faculties of human nature are called into exercise; an amount of leisure, together with ample means for its wise, orderly and beneficial employment shall be guaranteed to every man, woman, and child, such as, under the present arrangement of society, is neither practicable nor desirable.

RESOLVED, that we believe it of the utmost importance that those papers which are exclusively devoted to the working men's cause, should be promptly sustained, and that we hereby pledge ourselves, our money and our influence, to secure that result.

RESOLVED, that this convention, deeming it proper and expedient that there be a New England Workingmen's Association organized for the purpose of uniting the efforts of all who are engaged in the great interests of the real producers, choose a committee of one from

each delegation present, to draft and report a constitution and by-laws to be presented for the consideration of said association, at a meeting to be called by said committee at such time and place as they may decide. . .

RESOLVED, that we request the committee appointed to draft a constitution for a New England Association of Workingmen, to fix upon a time and place, during the session of this convention, for the first meeting of such association. . .

RESOLVED, that we recommend to associations to send only the same number of delegates, which the towns or cities in which said associations may be located, are entitled to representatives in their respective legislatures.

(c) LOWELL CONVENTION, MARCH, 1845
PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS

The *Awl*, April 5, 1845.

Feeling deeply sensible of the evils to which, as a class, we are subjected—being compelled to toil a number of hours per day entirely inconsistent with the faithful discharge of the duties we owe to ourselves, to society, and our race; and for which we by no means receive a fair proportion of the value our industry creates; and viewing with alarm and regret the anti-republican tendencies of our present legislation, and the many evils which have sprung from political abuse; and believing that these evils and abuses demand our immediate and united exertions for their correction or abolition; therefore,

RESOLVED, that the time has arrived for the workingmen of New England to form with each other that intelligent and comprehensive union, which alone is strength, and that they are called on in justice to them-

selves, to their country, and their race, to make use of all just and honorable means, social, moral, and political, to secure the great objects for which this Convention was assembled; and

WHEREAS, in order to procure an efficient Lien Law, an abridgement of the hours of labor, with such other salutary measures as will secure to the workingmen of New England their rights, it is necessary for us to send such men to the General Court as do best know and feel our wants; therefore,

RESOLVED, that this Convention recommend to the several Associations to form such arrangements as shall seem to them most efficient in carrying these measures successfully at the ballot box.

RESOLVED, that an abridgment of the hours of labor is indispensable to secure the moral, social, and physical well-being of the producing classes, and all who oppose this salutary measure exhibit a gross and pernicious disregard of the essential principles of justice, morality, and religion.

RESOLVED, that this Convention recommend to the several Associations at once to commence raising a fund against the time when one or more Associations, on mature deliberation, shall attempt the adoption of the Ten Hour System, for the purpose of aiding such persons as would be prevented by pecuniary embarrassment.

RESOLVED, that the present Lien Law of Massachusetts is a disgrace to the statute book, and unworthy an enlightened people; in as much as it tends to disorganize society, by discouraging honest industry, by arraying the poor against the rich, by oppressing the producing classes, by reducing them to poverty, pauperism, and crime, and enriching at the expense of honest labor, the designing and unscrupulous, whose fraudulent practices it invites and screens from justice, contrary to the

letter and spirit of the "Declaration of Rights," embodied in the Constitution of this Commonwealth.

RESOLVED, that all chartered monopolies are contrary to the letter and spirit of the Constitution, tending to gather the wealth of the community into the possession of the favored few, thereby establishing a dangerous, oppressive, moneyed oligarchy on the ruins of the constitution; it is therefore our imperative duty to urge the repeal of all partial laws touching the same at the earliest practical period. . .

RESOLVED, that on the morals and intelligence of the whole people depend the perpetuity of our republican institutions; it is therefore the duty and interest of the State to secure to all children in the community an education that will fully develop their physical, moral and intellectual powers, and render every citizen of the commonwealth worthy and capable to perform the sacred duties of a freeman.

RESOLVED, that the present policy of the State with reference to the labor of the convicts in the State Prison, is unjust to the honest mechanic, injurious to the State, degrading to labor, hostile to Humanity, and demands immediate revision or abolition.

RESOLVED, that government is instituted for the common defense; that our present expensive law system does not promote the ends of good government; and should be so altered and revised as to afford cheap, prompt, and efficient protection to all.

RESOLVED, that in our State Legislatures, as well as in Congress, and all departments of the government, labor should be represented as well as capital; and that the interests of the people of the States—those of the workingmen not excepted—are entitled to full and equal representation.

RESOLVED, that the question of the freedom of the

public lands is one which deeply interests the mechanics of New England; that the present monopoly of the same in the hands of speculators is opposed to national prosperity and natural rights; and that the freedom of these lands to actual settlers is a matter which demands, and shall secure, our immediate and energetic coöperation.

RESOLVED, that the oppression and degradation of the producing classes in Europe, caused by the accumulation of capital in the hands of a few, by the spirit of commercial monopoly and the influence of machinery, in favor of wealth and in hostility to labor, present a terrible example of the tendencies of modern society to sink the masses in poverty and ignorance, and loudly call upon every friend of Humanity in our more favored land, to aid in the discovery and adoption of measures which shall secure the American laborer, from the impending fate to which he is exposed, and which timely precaution and vigorous action in defense of the inborn rights of man alone can avert.

RESOLVED, that in view of the approaching evils which threaten to involve the producing classes of this century, in the serf-like dependence and misery, which present so foul a blot on the fairest portion of the old world, it is hereby earnestly recommended by this Convention to their brother workingmen throughout the land to establish an annual Congress, which shall have for its object to propose and adopt such measures as shall be found necessary to secure the rights and interests of honest industry, and to hasten the accomplishment of the grand industrial resolution which is alike demanded by the nature of man, the mission of free America, the hopes of Humanity, and the law of eternal truth and justice.

The following resolutions were offered by Mr. Brisbane, of New York:

RESOLVED, that in the opinion of this Convention, the evils which oppress the producing classes are not the result of the selfishness or perversity of individuals; but that they grow out of the false organization of industry, and of erroneous political and social principles, and that for this reason we attack principles, not men.

RESOLVED, that to eradicate effectually these evils, and elevate the producing classes to their true position, we must not consume our time and waste our efforts in attacking partial and fragmentary abuses and evils, and in merely breaking down without building up, (which is a negative policy and barren of result), but must bend the efforts of our combined intelligence to the devising of such new and fundamental measures and principles as will establish justice and right in industry and all its interests, and strike at the root of existing evils and abuses.

RESOLVED, that in the opinion of this Convention the great primary evils which are now operating throughout all civilized nations to sink the producing classes in poverty and ignorance—which are the parents of servitude, wretchedness, and crime—are,

First, antagonistic and depressing competition among the producing classes themselves, which arrays them collectively and individually in perpetual strife and conflict with each other, and leads to a gradual reduction in the price of wages, as also to the prolongation of the hours of work, and engenders general distrust, envy, and opposition of interest and action.

Second, monopolized machinery, or machinery in the hands of a few, which works against the producing

classes instead of working for them, and adds the competition of iron and brass to that of bones and sinews.

Third, the present complicated, wasteful, and grasping system of Commerce, which absorbs nearly one half the profits of honest productive industry for the comparatively trifling service of carrying on the exchanges of products.

Fourth, the divorce and separation between capital and labor, which arrays the capitalist against the laborer, and the laborer against the capitalist, and produces reciprocal hostility, aggression, injustice and hatred, widens the distinction and division of classes, and leads to the subjection and oppression of the one by the superior management and advantages of the other.

Fifth, the non-recognition and non-guarantee of the two great fundamental rights of man—the right of labor, and the right to the soil, without which all other rights are rendered to a very great extent unavailable and worthless.

RESOLVED, that we hold the above five evils to be the fundamental and primary causes of the disadvantages under which the producing classes labor; but there are others of a secondary importance, which apply with different degrees of force to different parts of the country, and which in many cases may be discussed at the same time with the above fundamental evils, and that in the opinion of this Convention, different sections of the country be left free to agitate such secondary measures as they deem proper, but that in all parts, that these fundamental ones be discussed and kept constantly before the people.

Mr. Ryckman, of Brook Farm, introduced the following resolution, which he sustained in an able speech illustrating the necessity of a prompt, immediate, and thorough revolution in Industry, and the formation of

an Industrial Congress analogous to that which fostered the liberties of the American Republic. His remarks were most enthusiastically received.

RESOLVED, that this Convention recommend to the N. E. Association to organize as promptly as possible, a permanent Industrial Revolutionary Government, upon the model of the confederation of the States in 1776, which shall be pledged, to direct the legal political action of the workingmen so as to destroy the hostile relations that at present prevail between capital and labor, and to secure to all the citizens without exception a full and complete development of their faculties by a thorough education, physical, mental, and moral, and the practical enjoyment of the only inherent and inalienable right of man – the right to labor.

The following resolutions were presented by Mr. Wright, of Boston, and supported by him, as well as by Messrs. Allen, Cox, Brown, Robinson, and Ryckman. The matter was felt to be one, as it really is, of importance to the success of the movement. The Press must be our grand engine for carrying on the Reform. We trust the feeling, excited and expressed at the Convention will not be allowed to die away; but that as a most practicable reason, as one indispensable to our harmonious action, individually the workingmen will aid to extend the means of information, and support their own press.

RESOLVED, that an indispensable means of accomplishing our reform is the dissemination of information among the people; and for this purpose it is of the utmost importance to sustain those papers now established, devoted to the cause; and that the manner in which these publications are sustained may be considered as an index of the interest felt in national reform.

RESOLVED, that every man and woman engaged in

our reform, is earnestly exhorted to extend the circulation of such papers as are devoted to our cause, by becoming personally subscribers and obtaining the subscriptions of others within the reach of their influence.

The following resolution was presented by Mr. Pierce of Fall River.

Whereas, the present Secretary of the U.S. Navy very severely condemned the course of his predecessors for increasing the number of hours for labor in the U.S. Navy Yards: therefore

RESOLVED, that, in the opinion of this convention, if that officer be consistent he will exert his whole influence to have the number of hours for labor in the U.S. service reduced to the same number they were before, that is, ten hours per day.

(d) FIRST ANNUAL MEETING

(1) *Proceedings.*
Voice of Industry, June 12, 1845.

The first meeting of the N.E. Workingmen's Association was convened in Boston, on Wednesday the 28th ult. In consequence of the discontinuance of the N.E. Mechanic, a few weeks since, which was the organ of the Association, sufficient notice of the time and place of the Convention had not been given to all the Country Associations to enable them to send delegates. Consequently there was not so full an attendance as we could have wished. But still there was a fair representation of the laboring classes, and a spirit of enquiry and advancement was plainly visible.

The President, Mr. Rykeman, on taking his seat, made an eloquent and energetic appeal to the members encouraging them to a more faithful discharge of their duty as workingmen. Considerable time was consumed in transacting business incident to the Convention.

A Committee of one from each association represented was then appointed to nominate a list of officers for the ensuing year, and to report such business as they might think proper. J. B. Lewis, Lynn; Sarah S. Bagley, and J. B. Leavitt, Lowell; Ruby C. Hatch and John Hull, Fall River; Charles A. Dana, Brook Farm; A. Brisbane, N. York; Wm. D. Leavitt, Woburn; J. J. Pealer, S. Boston; Henry Styles, North Chelmsford; and Edward Treadway, Boston – Committee.

Some discussion was had as to the propriety of admitting persons to take a part in the business of the convention who are not members. The following rule was finally adopted "All those interested in the elevation of the Producing Classes, and Industrial Reform, and the extinction of Slavery and Servitude in all their forms are invited to participate in the deliberations of the Convention."

AFTERNOON SESSION. The following report was read to the meeting by Miss Bagley of Lowell:

REPORT OF FEMALE LABOR REFORM. Lowell, May 25, 1845. Since the last meeting of the Workingmen's Convention at Lowell, Mass., our numbers have been daily increasing, our meetings generally well attended, and the real zeal of the friends of equal rights and justice has kindled anew. Our number of members is between four and five hundred, but this we consider a small part of the work which has been accomplished. The humble efforts of a few females united in the holy cause of human rights and human equalities, could not be expected to move the world in a day. But God be praised! we have moved the minds of the community to think and to speak on the subject. This is truly encouraging. For when we can arouse the minds of men and women to a sense of their own individual rights,

and cause them to think for themselves, then will they begin to act for themselves! The true nobility of the land–the laboring part of the community, have too long been looked down upon with haughty scorn and cold contempt, by the more prospered few, as being unworthy a place on a level with them. We would not seek to bring them down, (God knows that all such are already low enough in the scale of moral excellence) but we would seek to elevate, to ennoble, to raise higher the standard of moral excellence and human attainments. "Excelsior" shall be our motto; and let the spirit of the word thrill every heart!

Act – act, in the living present,
Heart within, and God o'erhead!

S. G. BAGLEY, Pres't. - H. J. STONE, Sec'ry.

The business committee made their report, in part, and the following officers were chosen for the year ensuing: L. W. Rykeman, of Brook Farm, *Pres't.* E. B. Fernald, Saco, Me.; Wm. H. Wiggins, Manchester, N.H.; A. J. Wright; A. M. Cowles, Stonington, Ct.; Geo. B. Brown, Woonsocket, R.I., *Vice Presidents.* Geo. S. Robinson, South Boston, *Rec. Sec.* Sarah S. Bagley, Lowell, *Cor. Sec.* L. Eddy, Boston, *Treasurer.* Geo. Ripley, of Brook Farm; P. W. Flanders, of Chelsea; Capt. Wm. Phillips, of Lynn; Silas C. Durgin, of North Chelmsford, *Executive Committee.*

Mr. Cox, of Boston, introduced the subject of sustaining the papers devoted to the interests of the Workingmen. He was followed by a gentleman from Lynn, and by Mr. A. J. Wright of Boston. Their remarks were eloquent and were listened to with much attention. We trust they produced a salutary effect upon those who heard them. Mr. Wright also spoke at some length on the general plan of operations pursued by the working-

men, in their attempts to effect a reform. Mr. Horace Greeley of N.Y. also spoke with much force on the same subject. We regret that we are unable to give a synopsis of their remarks.

Mr. Rykeman presented the following resolutions, which were ably advocated by Mr. Brisbane of New York.

RESOLVED, that this Convention heartily approve of the measures taken by the New York National Reform Convention, in reference to the call of a Convention for forming a Reformative Constitution of the United States; and

FURTHER, RESOLVED, that the persons there nominated and those who shall be nominated in this Convention, be the Convention for framing such Constitution, with leave to admit such others as they may think proper to their councils, either by their presence or by writing, and that they shall meet on the second Tuesday in October next, in the City of New York.

After Mr. Brisbane had closed his remarks, the resolutions were laid on the table until evening, when they were unanimously adopted. A large and beautiful banner from the Ladies' Association of Lowell was here presented to the Convention by Miss Bagley and her associates.

Robert Owen of Scotland, the celebrated philanthropist, addressed the meeting in some plain and practical remarks upon his former experience as to the abuse of the factory system of England as far back as 1815, when he sent a letter to Parliament, which was the subject of much consideration, and was the basis of a temporary change in the system. He spoke of the factory system of Lowell and showed that the time of work for the operatives should be abridged. While he was at the head

of similar establishments in England, he had adopted the system which he had recommended to Parliament, and found it highly beneficial to the proprietor and operative. Mr. Owen then went into a general investigation of the relations of Capital and Labor, which was exceedingly valuable, as being marked by the lessons of a long experience, a feeling of respect for the laborer, and an earnest wish for the amelioration of his condition.

EVENING SESSION. A report from Fall River Ladies' Mechanic Association was presented to the Convention and ordered to be placed on file.

The Convention was addressed by Mr. Dana of B. Farm, and Mr. Brisbane of N.Y., on the subject of Association and the best means of benefiting mankind. Several other gentlemen also spoke on the subject of Reform, the object of the Convention, &c. At 10 o'clock adj. to Thursday morning.

MORNING SESSION. After the adoption of the Resolutions in relation to the U.S. Constitution, a committee was appointed to nominate delegates to attend the Convention to be holden in New York in October next. In the afternoon, the Committee reported the following, which was adopted: Boston – A. J. Wright, Wendell Phillips, Wm. L. Garrison, Marcus Morton; Charlestown – Frederick Robertson; Brook Farm – L. W. Rykeman, Chas. A. Dana; Lowell – Abijah Watson, A. Smith, S. G. Bagley, H. J. Stone, S. Hathaway; Lynn – N. W. Brown, Henry Clapp, Wm. Phillips; Woburn – Wm. Totman, Henry Wendell; Fall River – Thos. D. Chalmer, John Hull; West Roxbury – Theodore Parker; Stonington – A. T. Cowles, Thos. M. Brown; Fitchburg – P. C. Pettibone, John Scism.

The following resolution was presented and adopted:

RESOLVED, that Associations in the various election

districts, are recommended to question all candidates for office, in respect to their willingness to support and advocate measures of Labor Reform, (general or special) in which said Association from time to time may be interested.

The following was offered by Mr. Eddy, of Boston:

RESOLVED, that the discontinuance of the *New England Mechanic* is to be regretted by all who seek the elevation of the oppressed, and that we earnestly hope an awakened interest of the people upon the subject, will induce its Editor to resume and continue its publication.

Mr. Hatch, of Brook Farm, offered the following, which he supported by a few able remarks:

RESOLVED, that we, as Workingmen, should use all means within our power to accomplish the objects we have in view, and

THEREFORE RESOLVED, that we recommend to the Workingmen throughout the country, to organize themselves into societies and employ public teachers to disseminate their views, and that Sunday be appropriated to that purpose.

John A. Collins of N.Y., addressed the Convention for more than an hour, in favor of the above resolution. Mr. C. is a most powerful speaker, and his arguments on this occasion were clear, forcible and strong. The Resolutions were adopted.

The venerable Mr. Owen, spoke on the character of the Convention, the liberal and reformatory spirit which had been manifested, and expressed his earnest hope that much good might be accomplished. . .

(2) Comment from Lowell.

Voice of Industry, July 3, 1845; quoted from the Lowell *Journal*.

Meeting our friend, Horace Greeley, of N. York, and learning that he was to attend the workingmen's

convention, I thought I would attend it. It was held in the Chapel, under the museum. I should think that about twenty men and about ten women attended as delegates. Robert Owen, John A. Collins, Albert Brisbane, W. H. Channing and Horace Greeley addressed them. A banner was presented by a lady from Lowell. She made quite a pretty speech, which was answered by the President and W. H. Channing. Much complaint was made by the members about the want of interest felt by the workingmen for the cause of reform. I am not in the least surprised that the workingmen of Massachusetts care nothing for such reforms as were proposed by some of the members. A member from your City made a speech in which he said that Capitalists and Priests had joined hands to put down, grind and oppress the laboring men - that commerce, manufacturing and foreign emigration were killing them - that there were ten times more slavery in Lowell, than on the Southern Plantations - that Lowell manufactured the prostitutes of New York, and that the first thing that must be done to elevate the workingmen, was to collect and burn the Sunday School books, which were poisoning the minds of the young. Such sentiments were listened to without rebuke by men calling themselves reformers - the friends of the laboring classes. No wonder the meeting was thinly attended - no wonder the clear headed, stout-hearted, practical workingmen of Massachusetts, who have been reared in our free schools and Sabbath schools and churches should care nothing for such reforms. This talk about slavery in the Lowell mills is one of the smallest humbugs of the day. Slaves in Lowell! Farmers' daughters, educated in our district schools, free to go where they please and to work where they please, held up to the world as ten

times greater slaves than the poor girls who are bought and sold—and treated like brutes, and that too in a convention of workingmen. My feelings and sympathies are with the workingmen of the country. Everything should be done that can be to aid them to improve their moral, intellectual and social powers. The mechanics and laboring men of Massachusetts have, during the last few years, made greater progress than any other class of men. And the very causes which have produced that progress are denounced by some professed friends of the laboring classes as they call them. It is all humbug and some of them know it. Some of the speeches were full of hatred and littleness—not one generous and noble sentiment redeemed them. Some of the speakers were men of large and generous hearts, and showed that they had a sincere desire to promote the interests and happiness of all mankind. Albert Brisbane brought forward a plan which he said he had well matured. I have not time nor inclination to state its provisions at this time, but, it seemed to me one of the greatest pieces of folly I ever heard propounded by a man out of a madhouse. Yours, H. W.

(e) LYNN CONVENTION, JANUARY, 1846

The *True Workingman*, Jan. 31, Feb. 7, 1846.

The convention met according to adjournment, Friday, Jan. 16th, at the Town Hall in Lynn, and was called to order by J. B. Leavitt, of Lowell; W. F. Young, sec. pro tem. A committee was chosen to examine the credentials of the delegates, when it was found the following towns were represented, viz:

Boston, Lowell, Roxbury, Fitchburg, Reading, East Bridgewater; a larger number of delegates were in attendance from Lowell than any other place, and it was

better represented by ladies than Lynn, even; quite a number of the Ladies' Association being present. . . It was voted, to give all persons present an invitation to partake in the deliberations of the convention.

Committee to nominate officers, reported as follows: for president, David Bryant, of Boston; vice pres., Phillip Chase, of Lynn; secretary, W. F. Parker of Lynn; assistant sec., W. F. Young, of Lowell.

The convention being fairly organized, Mr. Clapp of Lynn, made a short speech upon the necessity of the laboring classes taking decisive action with regard to our present foreign relations, which brought up the following preamble and resolutions from the secretary.

Whereas, appearances indicate that a war with Great Britain may take place, and as, in all such emergencies, the laboring classes are the greatest, and almost the only sufferers, and believing there is virtue and integrity enough in the people, both on this and on the other side of the water, to settle all impending difficulties, without a resort to arms, therefore

RESOLVED, that it is the duty of the laboring class, to take the matter into their own hands, and act immediately and decidedly, letting their servants, who assume to be their rulers, know that if they create war, they shall do the fighting.

RESOLVED, that so far from regarding the laboring man on the other side of the water as our enemy, and shooting him as such, we regard him as our friend, and will do all in our power to better his condition.

RESOLVED, that we will never consent to be dragged from our workshops and fields by a horde of unprincipled politicians, to fight for soil which we can never call our own, while they live in splendor and luxury.

RESOLVED, that we recommend mass meetings and

conventions of laboring men, on this and the other side of the water, to be called immediately, to take this subject into consideration.

Mr. Hovey of Boston, offered the following:

RESOLVED, that the lands of Oregon belong neither to the government of Great Britain or the government of the States, but that they belong to the human race, and that any man from any part of the world has a right to as much land as he will cultivate.

After which J. C. Cluer, of Lowell, offered the following:

RESOLVED, that those ministers of the gospel, who pray for the success of armies, and otherwise countenance fighting and bloodshed be requested to be consistent, to go and do the fighting themselves, and leave the work of preaching to humane men.

These resolutions were ably discussed by Messrs. Grandin of Maine; Hovey, Campbell, Kaulback, and Wright of Boston; Cluer, Young, and Palmer, of Lowell; Hatch of Roxbury, and Newhall of Lynn. The feeling with regard to war on the other side of the water, together with the means used to induce men to join the army, were ably set forth by Mr. Cluer, who said he would not himself offer such a resolution, being a foreigner, but still, he would go for them heart and hand, recommending that they be published in all the papers in this country, and in the "people's paper," (the *Northern Star*) in London, where they would be read by "scores of thousands" in a few weeks. Nearly all the other speakers argued the necessity of passing the resolutions. Some objection was offered to the last resolution offered by Mr. Cluer, on account of its reflection upon the clergy. Mr. Kaulback contended that the community is indebted to the clergy for all the light

it now possesses, and that to single them out as a point of attack, was unjust and unfair. Rev. Mr. Usher, of Lynn, made a speech in defense of his position, saying, "he did not feel himself hit" by the resolution. After several amendments had been offered and rejected, and after some little sparring about who should vote, the resolutions were finally passed about 8 o'clock in the evening, with but two or three dissenting votes. Mr. Cluer offered the following resolutions, in behalf, as he said, of the Lowell factory girls.

RESOLVED, that the New England convention take into consideration the best means for shortening the present long hours of labor, alias, they aid the "ten hour" movement.

RESOLVED, that in accordance with the expressed opinions of many who wish to bring about a reduction, by mutual agreement between the employers and the employed, this convention recommend a convention for accomplishing this object, to be held on the 2d Wednesday in April, at Boston, and appoint a committee, to issue a circular, to the manufacturers and operatives of the United States for that purpose.

After a speech of considerable length from Mr. Cluer, in support of the resolutions, in which he set forth the injustice of the present "long hour" system, giving many facts with regard to the factory system in Lowell, and in this country generally, showing it to be almost as bad and the wages of the laborer almost, if not quite as low, as in the old country. The convention adjourned to Saturday at 9 o'clock, a.m.

Saturday, Jan. 17, 1846. . . Whereas, there are at the present time, three millions of our brethren and sisters, groaning in chains on the southern plantation and whereas, we wish, not only to be consistent, but to

secure to all others, those rights and privileges for which we are contending ourselves, therefore

RESOLVED, that while we honor and respect our forefathers, for the noble manner in which they resisted British oppression; we, their descendants, will never be guilty of the glaring inconsistency of taking up arms, to shoot and to stab those who use the same means to accomplish the same objects.

RESOLVED, that while we are willing to pledge ourselves to use all the means in our power consistent with our principles to put down wars, insurrections, and mobs, and to protect all men from the evils of the same, we will never take up arms to sustain the southern slaveholder in robbing one fifth of our countrymen of their liberty.

RESOLVED, that we recommend our brethren to speak out in thunder tones, both as associations, and as individuals, and let it no longer be said, that northern laborers, while they are endeavoring to gain their own rights, are nothing but a standing army, that keeps three millions of their brethren and sisters in bondage at the point of the bayonet.

These resolutions were discussed at some length by Messrs. Hovey and Cluer. Mr. Kaulback of Boston spoke of the difficulties and the consequences of carrying out these resolutions, and exhorted the people not to vote for them without giving them due deliberation, after which they were passed without one dissenting vote.

Mr. Cluer's "ten hour" resolution was then taken up and discussed by several present, eliciting many facts and much valuable information in relation to the factory system and its supporters. The resolutions were unanimously adopted, together with the following report of the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association:

REPORT of the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association. Since our last meeting in Lowell, particularly within the last six weeks, a deeper and more thrilling interest has been manifested in our "association," than at any time heretofore. We have had some talk about a "Declaration of Independence" providing all the measures now under consideration should fail; and many have expressed a willingness, provided the minds of the operatives shall be prepared, "to take the work into their own hands, and declare their independence on the fourth of July next." Another pleasing symptom to our association, is a great increase of liberal feeling. They do not regard this measure, (the reduction of the hours of labor) as an end, but only as one step, towards the great end to be attained. They deeply feel, that their work will never be accompished, until slavery and oppression, mental, physical, and religious, shall have been done away, and Christianity in its original simplicity, and pristine beauty, shall be re-established and practiced among men. "Onward" is their watchword, and, "We'll try again," their motto; and they are resolved to "try again" and again, and yet again, until the work shall be accomplished or their work on earth shall cease. HANNAH TARLTON, vice pres.
M. EMERSON, sec. pro tem.

. . . The following resolution, offered by Dr. Grandin, of Maine, was then taken up, and discussed at length by Messrs. Grandin, Hovey, Campbell, Brown, and Young.

RESOLVED, that the cause of justice and equal rights, as well as the interest of the industrial classes, demand the abolition of all laws for the collection of a revenue from imports, and that so far as a revenue is necessary for the support of a just government, it should be raised by a direct tax on property.

A resolution to this effect was passed at the last convention but the subject was considered of sufficient importance to justify another expression. Passed unanimously.

The next resolution was offered by H. Clapp, Jr., of Lynn, after a speech in which he urged the laboring class to look well after their moral and intellectual cultivation.

RESOLVED, that the cause of popular, and especially adult education ought to find its strongest support amongst the friends of radical reform, no obstacles in the way of such reform being greater than the low state of moral and intellectual culture. . .

(f) COÖPERATION

(1) Action of Fall River Convention, September, 1845.
Voice of Industry, Sept. 18, 1845.

RESOLVED, that there is little and most uncertain power in the present grasping, selfish and monopolizing institutions of Society, to develop the virtues, secure the rights, or promote happiness of the people; that on the contrary, while the social and political institutions remain as they are, there is an absolute certainty of a constant and rapid increase of vice, oppression and misery, destined for them to suffer.

RESOLVED, that the first inherent rights of man, is the right of paternal protection, and that the relation of the parent to the child is the antetype of the true relation that exists between the government and the individual; and that this relation ought to be acknowledged and practically adopted as the basis of all law and government.

RESOLVED, that in the judgment of this Convention, a resort to the Polls is the only practical and effectual measure which the Workingmen can at present adopt for the defense of their rights.

Whereas, all means of Reform heretofore offered by the friends of Social Reform, have failed to unite the producing classes, much less attract their attention, therefore,

RESOLVED, that Protective Charity and concert of action in the purchase of the necessaries of life, are the only means to the end, to obtain that union which will end in their amelioration. . .

Mr. Kaulback of Boston, spoke at some length in favor of the last Resolution, upon the necessity of some new measure, of "concert of action and protective charity," that shall produce some united system to protect the workingmen against the cupidity of mercenary speculation and grasping monopolization and unite them into a charitable business organization. He said the Mechanics of Boston had in view, a plan to better the condition of the Workingmen of that city. It was simple in its nature, but he hoped the plan would not be despised because of its simplicity. They proposed to form a society, the initiation fee to which should be two dollars. None of this money was to be expended, until it had accumulated to a sum of $500; then three-fifths might be taken to purchase provisions, &c. at cheap, wholesale prices, for the benefit of the members. Mr. K. enlarged somewhat upon this subject and showed that it might be made beneficial to those who would engage in it.

Mr. Denton of New Bedford, opposed the Resolution, contending that nothing short of an entire revolution in society, can remedy the evils under which the laboring people suffer. Mr. Brown was inclined to doubt the efficacy of such a measure to do away with the present destructive state of things—he wished to remove the cause of our evils and the measure embodied in the

Resolution would fail to accomplish such a desirable end, being too superficial in its character; but should favor it so far as it went towards a relief.

Mr. Ryckman regretted that such a resolution should be urged, as the N.E. Association was organized upon a broader and nobler basis–it aimed at something more fundamental in its character, that shall not merely ameliorate the working classes, but disenthrall the laborer from the power of misused capital, and place him upon his own true platform, and secure to him the right to all that legitimately belongs to man in his individual or collective relations. He wished to see some united, moral, intelligent action through the ballot box. He thought the sentiments embodied in the Resolution tended to retrograde rather than progress.

Mr. Young thought the object of the Resolution under discussion, was not fully understood by the President–it did not conflict with any general principles upon which the New-England Association was founded or theories that might be entertained by any friend to social or political reform. It merely recommended a united, mutual and charitable action, whereby the producers might secure the necessaries of life without having them enhanced by passing through the speculators' and useless exchangers' hands. It is a point of no small importance, to provide the half starved women and children of Boston and New York with the means of daily subsistence, without being dependent upon the mercenary insanity and heartless capital of the day. The resolution suggested the importance of some mutual pecuniary organization among the mechanics and laborers that shall accumulate by degrees a reserved fund from which they may purchase on an economical scale, the daily necessaries and protect them from many

calamities with which they are visited; thus furnishing a stepping-stone and providing some means for their future progress and preparing the way for their final elevation.

(2) Amendment, Lowell Convention, October, 1845.
The *True Working Man*, Dec. 13, 1845.

RESOLVED, that protective charity and concert of action in the purchase of necessaries of life are some of the means to the end, to obtain that union which will end in their amelioration.

(3) Nashua Convention, September, 1846.
Voice of Industry, Oct. 2, 1846.

Mr. Currier of Manchester, stated that he came as a Delegate from the Manchester Division of the "Protective Union," and spoke encouragingly of its condition and future prospects.

Mr. Ross of Manchester followed and gave some interesting thoughts upon the same subject - from his own observation, he had come to the conclusion that the working people of Manchester paid a yearly tax of one hundred thousand dollars for the support of mercantile non-producers, in that city, which vast sum they might save by the "Protective Union" if fully carried out.

Mr. Kaulback addressed the meeting in his usual candid manner, upon the same subject; stating that the Boston Divisions had succeeded beyond the expectations of their most sanguine friends.

Mr. Young introduced the following Resolution, which was adopted,

RESOLVED, that under the present unnatural, uncertain, and competing state of Labor, the inadequate encouragement and protection it gives to the laborer, and in view of the tendencies of our present false and unjust commercial arrangements, which gives such a large

proportion of the products of labor, to the mere exchanger; thereby creating a numerous and useless class of rich commercial non-producers, who live in affluence and luxury at the expense of the working classes, this Convention recommend to the workingmen and women, throughout N. England, the formation of mutual guarantee Associations, similar to the "Workingmen's Protective Union;" for the purpose of promoting that direct interchange of productions, between the producer and consumer, so essential to the elevation of the laboring classes, by securing to honest toil its just rewards.

(g) POLITICS

Voice of Industry. From report of proceedings, Fall River Convention, Sept., 1845.

[September 18, 1845]. . . Mr. Babcock of Boston, was of the opinion that the working people would not accomplish the objects of the Resolutions without resorting to the ballot box; thought we should send workingmen to the State and National councils; who will legislate for labor as well as capital. He also gave an interesting account of the manner in which the mechanics of Boston were treated by the State Legislature last winter, when that body was petitioned from many parts of the State to pass a Lien Law for the protection of Mechanics against dishonest soulless contractors, of whom there were many in that city. He showed conclusively that if the workingmen ever expect any thing from the Legislature they must send men there from among themselves who would pass such laws as shall aid and protect them in securing and defending their rights. This sentiment was warmly responded to by the Convention.

Mr. Brown of Lynn, favored the resolutions but op-

posed political action, contending that it would generate new wrongs and new abuses. . .

[September 25, 1845]. . . Mr. March, of Lowell, took the floor and spoke in favor of the resolutions introduced the previous evening. He urged political action as the best means to gain a reduction of the hours of labor, in our manufactories, and the final redemption of the working classes from the power of combined, incorporated, protected capital. His Association had instructed him thus to speak, and he felt bound in justice to his constituents and to his own feelings, to call the attention of the Convention to the necessity of resorting to the ballot box to ameliorate the condition of the working people. He spoke at some length upon the condition of the Lowell operatives and of the Factory system of New England.

Mr. Douglass of Bridgewater, was of the opinion that the present system of labor was such, that a resort to the ballot box would fail to accomplish any immediate good, or unite the mechanics and laborers into any efficient organization. He thought the community should have more light upon this subject; the Press should be invoked, and public opinion set at work.

Mr. Allen wished to say a word relative to the workingmen's movement. He had some previous knowledge on this subject. He attended a convention held in Boston in 1834, when political action was introduced and adopted, and the result was a signal failure and death to the movement at that time. He had no confidence in such a course as it would, in case of a political triumph, merely transfer the evils instead of exterminating them. He wished to see more preaching of the truth, more talking and more thinking among the working classes. Mr. A. spoke at some length, feelingly and consistently. . .

[At the Lowell Convention in October the resolution as adopted reads,]

That in the judgment of this convention, a resort to the polls is one of the practical and effectual measures which the workingmen can at present adopt for the defense of their rights.[10]

(h) LABOR REFORM LEAGUE OF NEW ENGLAND

(1) Nashua Convention, 1846.

Voice of Industry, Oct. 2, 1846. The Nashua Convention, Sept., 1846, voted to sustain the *Voice of Industry*, and to adopt the following Preamble and Resolution.

Believing in the Rights of Man to himself and to his family, to the choice of industrial pursuits, and to an equivalent for what he produces, in contradistinction to all systems of slavery, compulsion, fraud or injustice; believing in the rights of all persons to the free use of the soil, motive-power, and machinery; in short, the rights of Labor, despite the authority of posthumous claims, monopoly or privilege; in the rights of all to life, to an "inalienable homestead", and to the best opportunities of education, in opposition to all systems of war, dependence, tenantry, or partiality in distributing of the blessings of a divine providence; in the right of the people, so to organize Commerce and Labor, as to dispense with an increasing class of non-producers, and furnish them with useful employment, by establishing relations of guaranteeism in Protective Union for mutual aid and sympathy, in sickness and misfortune, infancy and old age, in contrast with the chaos, competition and oppression which now prevail, in the sphere of trade and industry, and with the poverty and wants to which we are exposed in present society; the undersigned, workingmen and women of New England, voluntarily organize ourselves into an Industrial Reform

[10] *True Working Man*, Dec. 13, 1845.

Association, whose aim shall be the establishment of these rights, and the discharge of these mutual obligations. . .

RESOLVED, that the authorities of the city of Boston, in their decision, not to allow any Contractor to be employed by the "Water Commissioners," until they should give security that all the laborers be paid; also their determination that no intoxicating drinks be used, and their contemplation that Ten Hours shall constitute a day's work, until the enterprise is completed, deserves the commendation of this Convention, and every friend to the good of the laboring classes.

(2) Boston Convention, 1847.
Voice of Industry, Jan. 22, 1847.

The Labor Reform League assembled agreeable to notice, at Chapman Hall, Boston, on Wednesday morning. After organization and some preliminary business, the Convention proceeded to discuss Resolutions relating to the hours of labor, the Freedom of the Soil, and the "Inalienable home," "Free Trade," "Protective Unions," the tenements of the working people, &c. These questions drew out many valuable facts and interesting addresses. Delegates were in attendance from Manchester, N.H., Lynn, Holliston, Boston, Lowell, Amesbury, Danvers, East Bridgewater and other places. The meetings were also cheered by the presence and addresses of Amasa Walker, Rev. Mr. Burton, Minister at large of Boston, Wm. A. White, Dr. Channing, S. P. Andrews, S. H. Allen, and J. N. Buffum, who severally spoke with feelings of deep devotion for the interest and elevation of the laboring millions. Although differing with some of these men as to the means for finally accomplishing the great work before us; yet, their large hearts and universal benevolence, render their presence welcome at all meetings for the benefit of humanity–

our aims are one and the same–the building up of the kingdom of Justice. Messrs. White and Walker, spoke in strong terms of approbation of the Free Soil movement, Free Trade, and the Protective Union, and urged the working men to continue to agitate, until they shall gain that position they are entitled to, as members of the great brotherhood.

We have never seen a more rational zeal on any former occasion; and new hope and energy seems to be infused into the hearts of those who have long struggled to arouse the community to a sense of the wrongs of the sons and daughters of toil. The public mind is becoming awake to this important subject, and we believe the day is not far distant, when the God-given rights of all men to a home on the Earth, shall be practically acknowledged. Much credit is due Messrs. James Campbell and John Turner, for the efficient exertions, in making ample arrangements for the Convention, which added much to its success and usefulness and we hope they will be fully rewarded in seeing the cause of the people and humanity, triumph over wrong and oppression.

The Resolutions in favor of the National Reform Movement, Free Trade and direct taxation upon property to support Government, a reduction of the hours of labor and the Protective Union, were adopted, and Convention finally adjourned to meet at Lowell, last Tuesday of March.

(i) THE TEN-HOURS STATE CONVENTION, BOSTON, 1852. (PAMPHLET)

TO THE PEOPLE OF MASSACHUSETTS:

FELLOW CITIZENS: The friends of a Ten Hours Law, assembled in State Convention, have determined to take the field, by organized political action, for the purpose

of securing an enactment effective to reduce the hours of labor. In doing this, they do not propose to form a distinct political party; but they have so organized as to present this question distinctly at the polls, in the election of State Senators and Representatives. Therefore, they set forth in this Address the precise nature of the legislation they seek to accomplish, and also some of the reasons why they believe it is demanded by the public welfare. For this project of a law, and the reasons therefor, they most respectfully bespeak your careful and candid consideration.

PROTEST against ineffective Ten Hours Laws. That we may not be misunderstood, we, in the first place, repudiate and oppose the project of a law to establish the number of hours to constitute the legal standard of a day's work—a project associated in the public mind with the idea of the "Ten Hours System." We believe it is the intention of the Great Creator to shorten the time of man's toil, and to extend his opportunities for moral, social and intellectual improvement, by the introduction of labor-saving machinery, and by the powers and mechanical uses of water, steam and electricity. We are not prepared to say that ten hours is the minimum to which it is His intention, by these means, to reduce labor. If it be God's will to abridge man's daily labor to eight, six, or even a less number of hours, we ought cheerfully to submit and say—"Thy will be done." Inasmuch, therefore, as a legal Ten Hours Standard of daily labor might exceed the measure of the Great Ruler's intentions, it would be unwise for the Legislature thus to set its authority in possible opposition to His designs, by a law which would impede rather than aid the reduction of the hours of labor. Already under the progressive spirit of the age, in some

employments, custom has established much less than ten hours a day as a rule of labor. Shall the Legislature, by making a ten hours standard, deprive the laboring men of rights which established custom now gives them, or force them to labor more hours and abandon a reform already accomplished? By doing this, it would wrong those who now work less than ten hours, while it would not aid, in the slightest degree, in reducing the hours of labor of those who work more hours. This Convention therefore earnestly protests against any such "Ten Hours Law." We seek the abridgement of the hours of labor – not a new method of measuring the present hours.

And again, that we may not be misunderstood, we distinctly and emphatically declare, that we do not propose any legislation to interfere, in any manner whatever, with the hours of labor in agricultural, mechanical, or any other occupation, carried on by individual enterprise.

THE GENUINE LAW DEFINED. But we do declare, explicitly and frankly, that our purpose, and our whole purpose, is, the enactment of a law which shall prohibit, in stringent and unmistakable terms, and under adequate penalties, the corporations, chartered by the laws of the State, from employing any person in laboring more than ten hours in any one day. This is just the law – and all the law – we want on this subject; and we shall not relax our organization or efforts, until this be accomplished! . . .

DIMINUTION OF HOURS INCREASES WAGES. The opponents of the reduction of the hours of labor although without solid reasons upon which to found their objections, are not without pretexts to excuse them. Perhaps the objection which has thus far been most effect-

ive, is the assumption that wages must be diminished in proportion to the reduction of the hours. But this cannot be maintained in the light of any rational argument. On the contrary it will be found on fair examination to be an entire delusion; and a result just the reverse--viz: that a reduction of the hours will increase the wages of labor--will be proved to be the true solution of the problem.

Wages are governed by the great law of trade--the law of supply and demand. The price of labor as well as that of any other commodity rises and falls under the operation of this law; and it is impossible to control it by any other power or law whatever. There is a certain amount of the productions of labor demanded by the wants of the community, and there are a certain number of laborers ready for employment to supply the demand. As the demand for or the supply of laborers is in excess, wages will rise or fall.

Now therefore, to ascertain what effect reduction of the hours will have on the wages of labor, its effect upon the amount of the production of those, whose hours are reduced, must first be known. The result of the reduction of hours must be, either, the same production, or an increase or a diminution of production. Supposing the demand for the productions of labor to remain the same; what will be the effect upon wages of each of these possible results?

In the first place if there result neither increase nor diminution by the same laborers, then neither the supply nor the demand of labor will be affected; the same work will be done by the same persons, and wages will neither rise nor fall.

Secondly, if reduction of hours should increase the amount of production by the same laborers, it would be

equivalent to increasing the supply of labor, and would result in overproduction. A discharge of a portion of the laborers would be the consequence. This would be followed by a competing pressure of the unemployed, to obtain employment; and this in turn would effect a reduction of wages.

The third and only other alternative would be a diminution of the amount of production by the same persons. This would be equivalent to diminishing the supply of labor. More laborers would be wanted therefore, and the competing pressure of employers to obtain enough to satisfy their new want, must necessarily produce an advance of wages.

Of these three only possible results of the reduction of the hours of labor, the first will probably occur very generally in those employments, in which the work is all manual labor unaided by machinery. In such cases it is generally admitted that as much will be performed in ten, as in twelve or more hours a day. Of course employers will get the same work and laborers the same wages; while the latter will save from toil two or more hours a day to be otherwise employed to their own advantage.

The second proposition—an increase of production by the same laborers—is the only contingency, in which a reduction of wages could result from reduction of hours of labor. But this is not dreamed of as a possibility, and deserves no further notice.

The third proposition, under which, as shown above, an advance of wages must inevitably result, would be generally realized in the case of labor in factories, and in mechanical employments, in which machinery is much used.

This theory proceeds upon the supposition that the

demand for the products of labor will remain unchanged by the adoption of the Ten Hours System. But this is not quite correct. The reduction of the hours of labor, by improving the moral, social and physical condition of the laboring people, and by increasing their wages, will tend to increase their consumption of the products of labor. And again, if the production of machinery now running be diminished under the Ten Hours System, more mills and more machines will be required. These new demands for things produced by labor, will increase the demand for laborers, and tend to enhance wages still more. . .

3. LEGISLATIVE INVESTIGATIONS IN MASSACHUSETTS

(a) THE FIRST OFFICIAL INVESTIGATION OF LABOR CONDITIONS, 1845

Massachusetts *House Document*, no. 50, March, 1845.

The Special Committee to which was referred sundry petitions relating to the hours of labor, have considered the same and submit the following Report:

The first petition which was referred to your committee, came from the city of Lowell, and was signed by Mr. John Quincy Adams Thayer, and eight hundred and fifty others, "peaceable, industrious, hard working men and women of Lowell." The petitioners declare that they are confined "from thirteen to fourteen hours per day in unhealthy apartments," and are thereby "hastening through pain, disease and privation, down to a premature grave." They therefore ask the Legislature "to pass a law providing that ten hours shall constitute a day's work," and that no corporation or private citizen "shall be allowed, except in cases of emergency, to employ one set of hands more than ten hours per day."

The second petition came from the town of Fall River, and is signed by John Gregory and four hundred and eighty-eight others. These petitioners ask for the passage of a law to constitute "ten hours a day's work in all corporations created by the Legislature."

The third petition signed by Samuel W. Clark and five hundred others, citizens of Andover, is in precisely the same words as the one from Fall River.

The fourth petition is from Lowell, and is signed by James Carle and three hundred others. The petitioners ask for the enactment of a law making ten hours a day's work, where no specific agreement is entered into between the parties.

The whole number of names on the several petitions is 2,139, of which 1,151 are from Lowell. A very large proportion of the Lowell petitioners are females. Nearly one half of the Andover petitioners are females. The petition from Fall River is signed exclusively by males.

In view of the number and respectability of the petitioners who had brought their grievances before the Legislature, the Committee asked for and obtained leave of the House to send for "persons and papers," in order that they might enter into an examination of the matter, and report the result of their examination to the Legislature as a basis for legislative action, should any be deemed necessary.

On the 13th of February, the Committee held a session to hear the petitioners from the city of Lowell. Six of the female and three of the male petitioners were present, and gave in their testimony.

The first petitioner who testified was Eliza R. Hemmingway. She had worked 2 years and 9 months in the Lowell Factories; 2 years in the Middlesex, and 9 months in the Hamilton Corporations. Her employment is weaving—works by the piece. The Hamilton Mill manufactures cotton fabrics. The Middlesex, woollen fabrics. She is now at work in the Middlesex Mills, and attends one loom. Her wages average from $16 to $23 a month exclusive of board. She complained of the hours for labor being too many, and the time for meals too limited. In the summer season, the work is commenced at 5 o'clock, a.m., and continued till 7

o'clock, p.m., with half an hour for breakfast and three quarters of an hour for dinner. During eight months of the year, but half an hour is allowed for dinner. The air in the room she considered not to be wholesome. There were 293 small lamps and 61 large lamps lighted in the room in which she worked, when evening work is required. These lamps are also lighted sometimes in the morning. About 130 females, 11 men, and 12 children (between the ages of 11 and 14) work in the room with her. She thought the children enjoyed about as good health as children generally do. The children work but 9 months out of 12. The other 3 months they must attend school. Thinks that there is no day when there are less than six of the females out of the mill from sickness. Has known as many as thirty. She, herself, is out quite often, on account of sickness. There was more sickness in the Summer than in the Winter months; though in the Summer, lamps are not lighted. She thought there was a general desire among the females to work but ten hours, regardless of pay. Most of the girls are from the country, who work in the Lowell Mills. The average time which they remain there is about three years. She knew one girl who had worked there 14 years. Her health was poor when she left. Miss Hemmingway said her health was better where she now worked, than it was when she worked on the Hamilton Corporation. She knew of one girl who last winter went into the mill at half past 4 o'clock, a.m., and worked till half past 7 o'clock, p.m. She did so to make more money. She earned from $25 to $30 per month. There is always a large number of girls at the gate wishing to get in before the bell rings. On the Middlesex Corporation one fourth part of the females go into the mill before they are obliged to. They

do this to make more wages. A large number come to Lowell to make money to aid their parents who are poor. She knew of many cases where married women came to Lowell and worked in the mills to assist their husbands to pay for their farms. The moral character of the operatives is good. There was only one American female in the room with her who could not write her name.

Miss Sarah G. Bagley said she had worked in the Lowell Mills eight years and a half, six years and a half on the Hamilton Corporation, and two years on the Middlesex. She is a weaver, and works by the piece. She worked in the mills three years before her health began to fail. She is a native of New Hampshire, and went home six weeks during the summer. Last year she was out of the mill a third of the time. She thinks the health of the operatives is not so good as the health of females who do house-work or millinery business. The chief evil, so far as health is concerned, is the shortness of time allowed for meals. The next evil is the length of time employed—not giving them time to cultivate their minds. She spoke of the high moral and intellectual character of the girls. That many were engaged as teachers in the Sunday schools. That many attended the lectures of the Lowell Institute; and she thought, if more time was allowed, that more lectures would be given and more girls attend. She thought that the girls generally were favorable to the ten hour system. She had presented a petition, same as the one before the Committee, to 132 girls, most of whom said that they would prefer to work but ten hours. In a pecuniary point of view, it would be better, as their health would be improved. They would have more time for sewing. Their intellectual, moral and religious habits would also be benefited by the change. Miss Bagley

said, in addition to her labor in the mills, she had kept evening school during the winter months, for four years, and thought that this extra labor must have injured her health.

Miss Judith Payne testified that she came to Lowell 16 years ago, and worked a year and a half in the Merrimack Cotton Mills, left there on account of ill health, and remained out over seven years. She was sick most of the time she was out. Seven years ago she went to work in the Boott Mills, and has remained there ever since; works by the piece. She has lost, during the last seven years, about one year from ill health. She is a weaver, and attends three looms. Last pay-day she drew $14.66 for five weeks work; this was exclusive of board. She was absent during the five weeks but half a day. She says there is a very general feeling in favor of the ten hour system among the operatives. She attributes her ill health to the long hours of labor, the shortness of time for meals, and the bad air of the mills. She had never spoken to Mr. French, the agent, or to the overseer of her room, in relation to these matters. She could not say that more operatives died in Lowell than other people.

Miss Olive J. Clark is employed on the Lawrence Corporation; has been there five years; makes about $1.62½ per week, exclusive of board. She has been home to New Hampshire to school. Her health never was good. The work is not laborious; can sit down about a quarter of the time. About fifty girls work in the spinning room with her, three of whom signed the petition. She is in favor of the ten hour system, and thinks that the long hours had an effect upon her health. She is kindly treated by her employers. There is hardly a week in which there is not some one out on account of sickness. Thinks the air is bad, on account of the

small particles of cotton which fly about. She has never spoken with the agent or overseer about working only ten hours.

Miss Cecilia Phillips has worked four years in Lowell. Her testimony was similar to that given by Miss Clark.

Miss Elizabeth Rowe has worked in Lowell 16 months, all the time on the Lawrence Corporation, came from Maine, she is a weaver, works by the piece, runs four looms. "My health," she says, "has been very good indeed since I worked there, averaged three dollars a week since I have been there besides my board; have heard very little about the hours of labor being too long." She consented to have her name put on the petition because Miss Phillips asked her to. She would prefer to work only ten hours. Between 50 and 60 work in the room with her. Her room is better ventilated and more healthy than most others. Girls who wish to attend lectures can go out before the bell rings; my overseer lets them go, also Saturdays they go out before the bell rings. It was her wish to attend four looms. She has a sister who has worked in the mill seven years. Her health is very good. Don't know that she has ever been out on account of sickness. The general health of the operatives is good. Have never spoken to my employers about the work being too hard, or the hours too long. Don't know any one who has been hastened to a premature grave by factory labor. I never attended any of the lectures in Lowell on the ten hour system. Nearly all the female operatives in Lowell work by the piece; and of the petitioners who appeared before the Committee, Miss Hemmingway, Miss Bagley, Miss Payne and Miss Rowe work by the piece, and Miss Clark and Miss Phillips by the week.

Mr. Gilman Gale, a member of the city council, and who keeps a provision store, testified that the short time allowed for meals he thought the greatest evil. He spoke highly of the character of the operatives and of the agents; also of the boarding houses and the public schools. He had two children in the mills who enjoyed good health. The mills are kept as clean and as well ventilated as it is possible for them to be.

Mr. Herman Abbott had worked in the Lawrence Corporation 13 years. Never heard much complaint among the girls about the long hours, never heard the subject spoken of in the mills. Does not think it would be satisfactory to the girls to work only ten hours, if their wages were to be reduced in proportion. Forty-two girls work in the room with him. The girls often get back to the gate before the bell rings.

Mr. John Quincy Adams Thayer has lived in Lowell four years, "works at physical labor in the summer season, and mental labor in the winter." Has worked in the big machine shop 24 months, off and on; never worked in a cotton or woollen mill; thinks that the mechanics in the machine shop are not so healthy as in other shops; nor so intelligent as the other classes in Lowell. He drafted the petition. Has heard many complain of the long hours.

Mr. S. P. Adams, a member of the House from Lowell, said he worked in the machine shop, and the men were as intelligent as any other class, and enjoyed as good health as any persons who work in-doors. The air in the shop is as good as in any shop. About 350 hands work there, about half a dozen of whom are what is called ten hour men; they all would be ten hour men if they could get as good pay.

The only witnesses whom the Committee examined,

whose names were not on the petition, were Mr. Adams and Mr. Isaac Cooper, a member of the House from Lowell, and also has worked as an overseer in the Lawrence cotton mills for nine years. His evidence was very full. He gave it as his opinion that the girls in the mills enjoy the best health, for the reason that they rise early, go to bed early, and have three meals regular. In his room there are 60 girls, and since 1837, has known of only one girl who went home from Lowell and died. He does not find that those who stay the longest in the mill grow sickly and weak. The rooms are heated by steampipes, and the temperature of the rooms is regulated by a thermometer. It is so he believes in all the mills. The heat of the room varies from 62 to 68 degrees.

The above testimony embraces all the important facts which were elicited from the persons who appeared before the Committee.

On Saturday the 1st of March, a portion of the Committee went to Lowell to examine the mills, and to observe the general appearance of the operatives therein employed. They arrived at Lowell after an hour's ride upon the railroad. They first proceeded to the Merrimack Cotton Mills, in which are employed usually 1,200 females and 300 males. They were permitted to visit every part of the works and to make whatever inquiries they pleased of the persons employed. They found every apartment neat and clean, and the girls, so far as personal appearance went, healthy and robust, as girls are in our country towns.

The Committee also visited the Massachusetts and Boott Mills, both of which manufacture cotton goods. The same spirit of thrift and cleanliness, of personal comfort and contentment, prevailed there. The rooms are large and well lighted, the temperature comfort-

able, and in most of the window sills were numerous shrubs and plants, such as geraniums, roses, and numerous varieties of the cactus. These were the pets of the factory girls, and they were to the Committee convincing evidence of the elevated moral tone and refined taste of the operatives.

The Committee also visited the Lowell and the Middlesex mills; in the first of which carpets are manufactured, and in the second, broadcloths, cassimeres, &c. These being woolen mills, the Committee did not expect to find that perfect cleanliness which can be and has been attained in cotton mills. It would, however, be difficult to institute a comparison between the mills on this point, or to suggest an improvement. Not only is the interior of the mills kept in the best order, but great regard has been paid by many of the agents to the arrangement of the enclosed grounds. Grass plats have been laid out, trees have been planted, and fine varieties of flowers in their season, are cultivated within the factory grounds. In short, everything in and about the mills, and the boarding houses appeared, to have for its end, health and comfort. The same remark would apply to the city generally. Your committee returned fully satisfied, that the order, decorum, and general appearance of things in and about the mills, could not be improved by any suggestion of theirs, or by any act of the Legislature.

During our short stay in Lowell, we gathered many facts, which we deem of sufficient importance to state in this report, and first, in relation to the Hours of Labor.

From Mr. Clark, the agent of the Merrimack Corporation, we obtained the following table of the time which the mills run during the year.

Begin work. From 1st May to 31st August, at 5

o'clock. From 1st September to 30th April, as soon as they can see.

Breakfast. From 1st November to 28th February, before going to work. From 1st March to 31st of March, at 7½ o'clock. From 1st April to 19th September, at seven o'clock. From 20th September to 31st October, at 7½ o'clock. Return in half an hour.

Dinner. Through the year at 12½ o'clock. From 1st May to 31st August, return in 45 minutes. From 1st September to 30th April, return in 30 minutes.

Quit work. From 1st May to 31st August, at 7 o'clock. From 1st September to 19th September, at dark. From 20th September to 19th March, at 7½ o'clock. From 20th March to 30th April, at dark.

Lamps are never lighted on Saturday evenings. The above is the time which is kept in all the mills in Lowell, with a slight difference in the machine shop; and it makes the average daily time throughout the year, of running the mills, to be twelve hours and ten minutes.

There are four days in the year which are observed as holidays, and on which the mills are never put in motion. These are Fast Day, Fourth of July, Thanksgiving Day, and Christmas Day. These make one day more than is usually devoted to pastime in any other place in New England. The following table shows the average hours of work per day, throughout the year, in the Lowell Mills:

	HOURS	MIN.		HOURS	MIN.
January	11	24	July	12	45
February	12		August	12	45
March [11]	11	52	September	12	23
April	13	31	October	12	10
May	12	45	November	11	56
June	12	45	December	11	24

[11] The hours of labor on the 1st of March are less than in February, even though the days are a little longer, because 30 minutes are allowed for breakfast from the 1st of March to the 1st of September

In Great Britain, the hours of labor per week are limited by act of Parliament to 69, or 11½ hours per day, but the general regulation in all the factories is 9 hours on Saturday and 12 hours on each of the other five working days. It is also enacted that there shall be six holidays in the course of the year.

It is hardly possible to draw a comparison between the operations in Great Britain and those in Lowell. The one is a manufacturing population, in the strict sense of the word, the other is not. There, the whole family go into the mills as soon as they have sufficient bodily strength to earn a penny. They never come out until they die. Very little attention is paid to their moral or physical culture, and, as has been proved by facts ascertained by commissioners appointed by Parliament, few can read or write, and, unless they have attended Sabbath schools, few obtain any knowledge of the Bible or of the Christian religion.

In Lowell, but very few (in some mills none at all) enter into the factories under the age of fifteen. None under that age can be admitted, unless they bring a certificate from the school teacher, that he or she has attended school at least three months during the preceding twelve. Nine-tenths of the factory population in Lowell come from the country. They are farmers' daughters. Many of them come over a hundred miles to enter the mills. Their education has been attended to in the district schools, which are dotted like diamonds over every square mile of New England. Their moral and religious characters have been formed by pious parents, under the paternal roof. Their bodies have been developed, and their constitutions made strong by pure air, wholesome food, and youthful exercise.

After an absence of a few years, having laid by a few

o'clock. From 1st September to 30th April, as soon as they can see.

Breakfast. From 1st November to 28th February, before going to work. From 1st March to 31st of March, at 7½ o'clock. From 1st April to 19th September, at seven o'clock. From 20th September to 31st October, at 7½ o'clock. Return in half an hour.

Dinner. Through the year at 12½ o'clock. From 1st May to 31st August, return in 45 minutes. From 1st September to 30th April, return in 30 minutes.

Quit work. From 1st May to 31st August, at 7 o'clock. From 1st September to 19th September, at dark. From 20th September to 19th March, at 7½ o'clock. From 20th March to 30th April, at dark.

Lamps are never lighted on Saturday evenings. The above is the time which is kept in all the mills in Lowell, with a slight difference in the machine shop; and it makes the average daily time throughout the year, of running the mills, to be twelve hours and ten minutes.

There are four days in the year which are observed as holidays, and on which the mills are never put in motion. These are Fast Day, Fourth of July, Thanksgiving Day, and Christmas Day. These make one day more than is usually devoted to pastime in any other place in New England. The following table shows the average hours of work per day, throughout the year, in the Lowell Mills:

	HOURS	MIN.		HOURS	MIN.
January .	11	24	July . .	12	45
February .	12		August . .	12	45
March [11] .	11	52	September .	12	23
April . .	13	31	October . .	12	10
May . .	12	45	November .	11	56
June . .	12	45	December .	11	24

[11] The hours of labor on the 1st of March are less than in February, even though the days are a little longer, because 30 minutes are allowed for breakfast from the 1st of March to the 1st of September.

hundred dollars, they depart for their homes, get married, settle down in life, and become the heads of families. Such, we believe, in truth, to be a correct statement of the Lowell operatives, and the hours of labor.

THE GENERAL HEALTH OF THE OPERATIVES. In regard to the health of the operatives employed in the mills, your Committee believe it to be good. The testimony of the female petitioners does not controvert this position, in general, though it does in particular instances. The population of the city of Lowell is now rising 26,000, of which number, about 7,000 are females employed in the mills. It is the opinion of Dr. Kimball, an eminent physician of Lowell, with whom the Committee had an interview, that there is less sickness among the persons at work in the mills, than there is among those who do not work in the mills; and that there is less sickness now than there was several years ago, when the number was much less than at present. This we understood to be also the opinion of the city physician, Dr. Wells, from whose published report for the present year, we learn that the whole number of deaths in Lowell, during the year 1844, was 362, of which number, 200 were children under ten years of age.

DISEASES	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844
Consumption	40	54	70	73	77
Inflammation of Lungs	17	20	38	16	24
Cholera Infantum	12	30	34	27	31
Scarlet Fever	7	43	32	6	3
Measles	0	4	12	0	10
Dysentery	47	18	17	11	2
Inflammation of Brain	7	11	6	8	4
Croup	7	10	12	6	11
Total mortality each year*	426	456	473	363	362

* Totals of enumerated diseases are: 1840, 137; 1841, 190; 1842, 221; 1843, 147; 1844, 162.—ED.

The preceding table shows the comparative mortality in Lowell during the past five years, enumerating some of the principal diseases.

The population of Lowell, in May, 1840, was 7,341 males and 13,740 females; total, 20,981. The population in May, 1844, was 9,432 males, 15,637 females; total, 25,163; increase of population in four years, 4,182. Notwithstanding this increase of population, the number of deaths has decreased. There being fewer the past year than in any of the four preceding years, and 64 less in 1844 than in 1840. Yet, during the past year, the mills have been in more active operation than during either of the four years preceding. The decrease in the mortality of Lowell, Dr. Wells attributes, in part, to "the enlightened policy of the city government, in directing the construction of common sewers, and the enterprise of individuals, in multiplying comfortable habitations, the establishment of a hospital, supported by the liberality of the corporations, for the accommodation of the sick in their employ. The more general diffusion of a knowledge of the laws of health, is also conducive to the same end."

The petitioners thought that the statements made by our city physician, as to the number of deaths, were delusive, inasmuch as many of the females when taken sick in Lowell do not stay there, but return to their homes in the country and die. Dr. Kimball thought that the number who return home when seized with sickness was small. Mr. Cooper, whose testimony we have given, and who is a gentleman of great experience, says that he has known but one girl who, during the last eight years, went home from Lowell and died. We have no doubt, however, that many of the operatives do

leave Lowell and return to their homes when their health is feeble, but the proportion is not large. Certainly it has created no alarm, for the sisters and acquaintances of those who have gone home return to Lowell to supply the vacancies which their absence had created.

In the year 1841, Mr. French, the agent of the Boott Mills, adopted a mode of ascertaining from the females employed in that mill the effect which factory labor had upon their health. The questions which he put were: "What is your age?" "How long have you worked in a cotton mill?" "Is your health as good as before?"

These questions were addressed to every female in "No. 2, Boott Mill." The committee have the names of the females interrogated, and the answers which they returned, and the result is as follows:

LIST OF GIRLS IN BOOTT MILL, NO. 2 – May 1st, 1841

Where Employed	Whole No. of Girls	Average Age*		Average Time* Employ'd in Mill		Effect upon Health		
		y.	d.	y.	d.	Imp'd	As good	Not as good
Carding room .	20	23	30	5	25	3	12	5
Spinning room .	47	28	38	4	10	14	29	4
Dressing room .	25	26	60	7	25	2	16	7
Weaving room .	111	22	98	3	84	10	62	39
Whole No. .	203	22	85	4	29	29	119	55

To these questions, several of the girls appended remarks. One girl, named S. Middleton, had worked in a mill nine years. She says, "health quite as good; has not been sick in the time." Miss Proctor says, "have worked fourteen years; health a great deal better; sick when out of the mill." A Miss Lawrence says, "have

* The averages above computed are incorrect. "Average Age" should be 24 years, 330 days; "Average time employed" should be 4 years, 310 days. – Ed.

been five years in a mill; health quite as good; not a day's sickness in the time." A Miss Clark says, "have been seventeen years in the mill; health quite as good; hasn't hurt her a mite." The Boott Mill employs about nine hundred girls, not half a dozen of whom are under fifteen years of age.

In order to give the House a full statement of the facts connected with the factory system in Lowell, and in other towns in the Commonwealth, it would be necessary to answer interrogatories like these:

1st. The kind of work of the girls—is it proportioned to their age and intelligence?

2d. The amount of their wages, and how the girls dispose of them?

3d. Are the girls separated from the men?—what surveillance is exercised over them?—what police is used?

4th. What is their religious, moral or literary instruction?

5th. Where do they pass the time not occupied in work?

6th. What are their general habits and character? What is the common age of entering the mill, and how long does a girl remain there?

In addition to which we have been permitted to copy the following memoranda from a book kept by John Clark, Esq., agent of the Merrimack Mills:

May 6th, 1841. I have ascertained, by inquiries this day, that 124 of the females now at work in the Merrimack Mills have heretofore taught school; and that in addition 25 or 30 have left within the last 30 days to engage their schools for the summer, making in all 150 or more. I also find, by inquiries at our boarding houses, that 290 of our girls attended school during the evenings of the last winter.

January 1st, 1842. We have this day in our five mills 40 females including sweepers and other day hands, who cannot write their names; of this number, 30 are Irish. The average wages of 20 job

hands of the above, as compared with the same number of the best writers in the same rooms, is over 18 per cent below them. All our weavers sign their names except four, in No. 4, upper room.

February 26, 1842. We have this day in our five mills, 50 foreigners, 37 are Irish, (including 15 sweepers) 10 English and 3 Scotch, and not one hand in all our works, under 15 years of age either male or female. Usual number of hands employed by the Merrimack Company in their five mills is about 1,200 females and 300 males.

There are many interesting facts connected with this inquiry which your Committee have not included in the foregoing remarks, and which we could not include without making our report of too voluminous a character.

We will state, however, in this connection, that the evidence which we obtained from gentlemen connected with the Lowell Mills all goes to prove that the more intelligent and moral the operatives are, the more valuable they are to the employers, and the greater will be the amount of their earnings.

Your Committee have not been able to give the petitions from the other towns in this State a hearing. We believed that the whole case was covered by the petition from Lowell, and to the consideration of that petition we have given our undivided attention, and we have come to the conclusion unanimously, that legislation is not necessary at the present time, and for the following reasons:

1st. That a law limiting the hours of labor, if enacted at all, should be of a general nature. That it should apply to individuals or copartnerships as well as to corporations. Because, if it is wrong to labor more than ten hours in a corporation, it is also wrong when applied to individual employers, and your Committee are not aware that more complaint can justly be made against

incorporated companies in regard to the hours of labor, than can be against individuals or copartnerships. But it will be said in reply to this, that corporations are the creatures of the Legislature, and therefore the Legislature can control them in this, as in other matters. This to a certain extent is true, but your committee go farther than this, and say, that not only are corporations subject to the control of the Legislature but individuals are also, and if it should ever appear that the public morals, the physical condition, or the social well-being of society were endangered, from this cause or from any cause, then it would be in the power and it would be the duty of the Legislature to interpose its prerogative to avert the evil.

2d. Your Committee believe that the factory system, as it is called, is not more injurious to health than other kinds of indoor labor. That a law which would compel all of the factories in Massachusetts to run their machinery but ten hours out of the 24, while those in Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and other States in the Union, were not restricted at all, the effect would be to close the gate of every mill in the State. It would be the same as closing our mills one day in every week, and although Massachusetts capital, enterprise and industry are willing to compete on fair terms with the same of other States, and, if needs be, with European nations, yet it is easy to perceive that we could not compete with our sister States, much less with foreign countries, if a restriction of this nature was put upon our manufactories.

3d. It would be impossible to legislate to restrict the hours of labor, without affecting very materially the question of wages; and that is a matter which experience has taught us can be much better regulated by the

parties themselves than by the Legislature. Labor in Massachusetts is a very different commodity from what it is in foreign countries. Here labor is on an equality with capital, and indeed controls it, and so it ever will be while free education and free constitutions exist. And although we may find fault, and say, that labor works too many hours, and labor is too severely tasked, yet if we attempt by legislation to enter within its orbit and interfere with its plans, we will be told to keep clear and to mind our own business. Labor is intelligent enough to make its own bargains, and look out for its own interests without any interference from us; and your Committee want no better proof to convince them that Massachusetts men and Massachusetts women, are equal to this, and will take care of themselves better than we can take care of them, than we had from the intelligent and virtuous men and women who appeared in support of this petition, before the Committee.

4th. The Committee do not wish to be understood as conveying the impression, that there are no abuses in the present system of labor; we think there are abuses; we think that many improvements may be made, and we believe will be made, by which labor will not be so severely tasked as it now is. We think that it would be better if the hours for labor were less, if more time was allowed for meals, if more attention was paid to ventilation and pure air in our manufactories, and work-shops, and many other matters. We acknowledge all this, but we say, the remedy is not with us. We look for it in the progressive improvement in art and science, in a higher appreciation of man's destiny, in a less love for money, and a more ardent love for social happiness and intellectual superiority. Your Committee, therefore, while they agree with the petitioners in their desire to lessen

the burthens imposed upon labor, differ only as to the means by which these burthens are sought to be removed. . . WILLIAM SCHOULER, Chairman.

(b) THE INVESTIGATION OF 1850

(1) The Committee's Report.
Massachusetts *House Document*, no. 153, 1850.

House of Representatives, February 8, 1850.

Ordered, that Messrs. Stone, of Charlestown; Shelton, of Boston; Parmenter, of Lowell; Carter, of Leominster; Thomas, of Norwich; Dickinson, of Amherst; and Clark, of Rochester, be a committee, to inquire and report to this House, whether any, and what legislation, ought to be adopted for the limitation of the hours of work of the laboring people, and particularly of the operatives employed by the incorporated companies of this State, in the large manufacturing establishments, to the end, that labor may be protected against the depressing influences of its own undue competition with its own interest; and to better secure to the laboring classes proper time for relaxation and rest, and for moral and intellectual improvement.

C. W. STOREY, Clerk.

House of Representatives, April 10, 1850.

The Special Committee, to whom was referred the subject of the Order of February 9, relative to Limiting the Hours of Labor, and also the Petitions upon this and kindred subjects, of Almon G. Hinckley and others, of David Wood and others, of Henry Hemingway and others, of A. L. Brooks and others, and of H. E. French and others, have considered the same, and ask leave to Report, that it is inexpedient to legislate thereon.

For the committee, THOS. J. SHELTON.

House of Representatives, April 10, 1850.

The undersigned, a Minority of the Special Committee, to whom was referred the subject of the Order of February 9, relative to limiting the hours of labor, and also the Petitions of Almon G. Hinckley and others, of Dennis; of David Wood and others, of Yarmouth; of Henry Hemingway and others, and of A. L. Brooks and others, and H. E. French and others, of Lowell, severally asking for some legislation, defining or limiting the hours of labor, respectfully ask leave to submit a Minority Report.

The subject of limiting by law the hours of labor, and particularly in the manufacturing establishments of the corporations of this Commonwealth, has been, heretofore, at various times, brought before the Legislature by the petitions of large numbers of the operatives, who have felt, that they have suffered a great grievance, and that they, together with the great mass of laborers in all industrial employments, have been subjected to great physical and moral evils, from too long protracted hours of labor. And now there are numerous mechanics, operatives, and other laboring people, who have come by their petitions before this Legislature, and say, that they desire "to again call your attention to the necessity of some legislative interference in their behalf." Other disinterested, respectable, and humane persons, who have not themselves been subjected to the evils complained of, but who have been observers of the system of labor in our manufacturing establishments, join in these petitions to the Legislature to mitigate them by a restriction of the hours of labor. The petitions of David Wood and others, of Yarmouth, and Almon G. Hinckley and others, of Dennis, ask the General Court "to establish the ten hour system for mechanics and labor-

ers, throughout the State of Massachusetts." The petition of Henry Hemingway and others, asks for the enactment of "a law limiting the number of hours for a day's labor." The petitions of A. L. Brooks and others, and H. E. French and others, ask indefinitely for legislative interference, and set forth their grievances in the following words:

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts:

A firm conviction, that the number of hours of daily labor, required of operatives in the various manufactories of this State, is highly injurious to their physical, mental, and moral natures, and consequently detrimental to the true interests of the community, induces the undersigned, citizens of Lowell, to again call your attention to the necessity of some legislative interference in their behalf, that so useful a class of our fellows may be protected from the unequal operations of combined and concentrated wealth.

That the present hours of daily toil are too many, and tend fearfully to the degeneracy of society, is admitted by the good, the wise and philanthropic of the world; and we trust, by every consideration of duty to your highly revered State, and her industrious population, you will be induced to regard this subject in its true light – independently of the seductive influences of wealth, or long established usages. That the regulation of the hours of labor, especially in incorporated establishments, comes legitimately within your jurisdiction, seems too obvious for an elaborate discussion at this time, and we would simply refer you to the declaration of the committee, upon the same subject, in the Senate of 1846 – Document, No. 81.

Your petitioners would also call your attention to an article in the "Factory Regulations," which they believe is the cause of much injustice on the part of the corporations, and which reads as follows:

"All persons entering the employment of the company, are considered as engaged for twelve months, and those who leave sooner, or do not comply with these regulations, will not be entitled to a regular discharge."

The effects of this regulation are becoming, every day, more grievous, giving to the manufacturers great power over the operatives, and leading to oppression and wrong; forming a combination which de-

stroys the independence of the operative class, and places them almost absolutely within the control of the manufacturer. As an illustration, we briefly subjoin – Mary A—— engages to work for the M—— Company, in the city of Lowell; according to the "regulations" she is considered engaged for one year; but, for some good reason, perhaps ill treatment from her overseer, she wishes to leave, and applies for a "regular discharge," which is refused and her name is immediately sent to all the other corporations, as being upon the "Black List;" where, should she apply for work, she is denied, no matter how destitute her condition.

That you may be guided by that wisdom and intelligence which practically recognizes in our race one common brotherhood, possessed by nature with like requirements, and entitled to equal opportunities for accomplishing a high physical, intellectual, and spiritual destiny, is the sincere desire of your memorialists.

Some of these petitioners appeared personally before the committee, and urged at length, their views relative to the necessity for legislation to remedy the grievances complained of, and especially, what they deem the unjust effects of the article of the "Factory Regulations," referred to in their petition. They stated particular cases, known to them personally, giving names, places and dates, where, under this rule, persons, both male and female, of entirely irreproachable character, had been arbitrarily discharged from, and kept out of employment, without reasonable cause, and in cases where the rigid enforcement of the rule, could not be justified by any plea of necessity for preserving order and regularity among the operatives. They also stated, that instances of this nature were by no means unfrequent. That there are cases, where this rule is used improperly, cannot be doubted, although it is to be hoped, they do not so often occur, as was represented before the committee. The power, the corporations have by these "Regulations," not only to discharge for the most trivial causes, but also, by an extensive system of combination with other corporations, to prevent the persons so discharged,

from obtaining employment and the honest means of livelihood elsewhere, is certainly a very dangerous power, and liable to be abused to the oppression of the operatives, and particularly those who are poor and friendless. Should this power continue to be exercised, as represented by the petitioners, the frowns of an aroused public opinion, will be strongly directed against the manufacturing corporations; and should public opinion fail to correct the abuse, legislative interposition would become indispensably requisite. Relying upon public opinion, and the manifest interest of the corporations, not to have it excited against them, the undersigned are not prepared to recommend legislation upon this particular subject, at this time.

In relation to the hours of labor, the undersigned agree with the petitioners, that a necessity exists for legislative interference to restrict them, and deem it proper to present to the Legislature their reasons for this conclusion.

They fully believe, and think that nearly all intelligent persons, who have thought upon the subject, will admit, that the present hours of labor in the manufactories of this State, are too many, for the moral welfare and physical health of the operatives, and that this system of labor is a great evil, which, not only immediately affects the laborers themselves, but is diffused into society, and will entail serious effects upon posterity. Nevertheless, the experience in this country, as to the business of extensive manufacturing, has been so short and limited, that it is very difficult to show, by accomplished results, the effects of this kind of industry upon the health and moral condition of the community. There is an almost total want of statistical information, showing with any degree of accuracy, its actual effects. In England, a long, and at last, sad and terrible experi-

ence of the results of overworking, has forced the conviction upon the minds of all classes of people, that less hours devoted to labor, will best subserve the interest of both employers and employed. The legislators of England, and the manufacturers of England, have at last, been forced by the teachings of facts, to acknowledge as truth, what long years before, was argued to them as the inevitable law of nature; and the people of all classes, and particularly manufacturing operatives and employers, were compelled, by their own finally ascertained interests, to demand of Parliament, that the observance of the physical and moral laws of God on this subject, should be enforced by the laws of the realm. In Massachusetts, partial, imperfect and inexact statements of results have, from time to time, been gathered and published, and deductions have been drawn from them, necessarily crude and unsatisfactory. Deductions drawn from the same statements, by different minds, have often been in direct opposition to one another. All these, and the arguments based upon them, prove nothing. They must all be taken as mere opinions, and weighed as such. But certain facts, relative to the hours of labor, and the conditions to which the operatives are subjected during those hours, can be ascertained; and these facts can be weighed, and compared with the known laws of the physical and moral nature of man, laws, which are known to act with unerring certainty, and unbending uniformity, and in this manner, a conclusion may be arrived at, as to what must be, whether now seen or not, the final results and effects of this system of labor.

The hours of labor are nearly, if not quite the same, in all the principal manufacturing establishments throughout Massachusetts. In the report of the special

committee of the Legislature, upon this subject, in the year 1845, (*House Doc.*, No. 50) a table of the hours of labor, in the Lowell factories, is introduced, from which it appears, that the daily average time of labor through the year, was then twelve hours and eighteen minutes. In the year 1847, the time of labor was reduced fifteen minutes a day, during eight months of the year, and thirty minutes a day, during the other four months, by a corresponding addition to the time previously allowed for meals. The following table shows the average hours of labor in the Lowell factories at the present time, for every month during the year:

January	11 hours,	9 minutes	July	12 hours,	30 minutes
February	11 "	45 "	August	12 "	30 "
March	11 "	22 "	September	11 "	53 "
April	13 "	1 "	October	11 "	40 "
May	12 "	30 "	November	11 "	41 "
June	12 "	30 "	December	11 "	9 "

By this table, it appears, that the daily average time of labor throughout the year, is less than two minutes short of twelve hours, (11 hours and 58 2/3 minutes.) This is substantially a fair statement of the time, (certainly not an over statement) actually devoted to labor, by the large and worthy class of laborers and operatives in the manufactories of this State. During the month of April, they work over thirteen hours, and in the four succeeding months, twelve hours and thirty minutes, and in four other months, but a few minutes less than twelve hours, while the very shortest time of working, is eleven hours and nine minutes, and this for but two months.

The undersigned believe, that this simple statement of the hours of labor, is alone sufficient to show, that a great evil exists in this respect—that the time devoted

to labor is excessive, and that thereby, the laws relative to man's moral and physical nature are violated. If any reliance can be placed upon the teachings of physiological science, and the opinions of eminent physiologists, the human constitution was never intended, or framed by the Creator, for such long continued and exclusive devotion to labor of any kind. The physical laws being thus set at naught, evil consequences must inevitably ensue, and they will be likely to fall first, upon the laborers and employers, and ultimately upon society. If these results do not appear in the persons of the operatives, seen by the casual observer, in the manufacturing villages, it is not, therefore, proved that they do not exist in the deteriorated constitutions of those, who, having suffered from excessive hours of labor, as long as their failing powers would permit, have withdrawn from observation, and gone among their friends, in the rural sections of New England. Whether the effects be immediately seen or not, the infringement of nature's laws, whether by an individual, or by community, cannot pass with impunity. The beasts which man has subjected to his control, and which labor for him, must have time for rest and relaxation; and this, with proper food, suffices for them, and answers all the purposes of their creation. But man has been created with moral, intellectual, and social faculties and capacities, as well as organs and powers for toil, and it will not be denied, that time and opportunity should be allowed to all persons, for their cultivation and exercise. Do the manufacturing operatives of Massachusetts, have proper time for these purposes? By the above table of the hours of labor, it appears, that but little time remains to them for mental culture or social enjoyment. Take, for consideration, the month of April, when the work-

ing time is longest. Add to the hours of labor, (thirteen hours and one minute,) forty-five minutes each for breakfast and dinner, thirty minutes for supper, and thirty minutes more for rising and putting on their apparel, and going to the mills in the morning, and it makes fifteen hours and thirty-one minutes. That is the time, actually required of the operatives for labor and their meals, and going to and returning from their work. There remains then, less than eight and a half hours for that rest, relaxation and sleep, which their exhausted energies imperatively demand, and for attention to the requirements of their moral and intellectual natures. This whole time of less than eight and a half hours, would not be considered an over allowance to a laboring person for sleep alone. If the operatives take enough of this brief time to be of any valuable use to them by way of mental or moral culture, they must, by so doing, rob the body of the rest and sleep which is its due, and which its health requires. During the next succeeding four months, making the same allowances as before, only nine hours remain to the operatives for sleep and other purposes. During the remainder of the year, they have but from nine to ten hours, with the exception of two months, when they have a little more than ten hours. They get up in the morning and hurry to their work—they go at stated times to their boarding houses and eat their hasty meals, and hasten back to the mills again, and there remain, till they quit work for the day, and return to their boarding houses, tired and exhausted. This is believed to be a fair statement of the daily history of life and labor of the manufacturing operatives of this State. Where, then, is their time and opportunity for moral and mental culture? Where is the time for them to acquire information, and thus keep reason-

able pace in general improvement, with the ordinary ranks of life? It is clear, they do not have it. Their daily span of twenty-four hours, is all appropriated in regular and stated portions, to working, eating and sleeping, and no allowance is, or can be made for the wants of the mind, without infringing upon time set apart for one of these three purposes.

That there are great evils suffered by the operatives, from excessive hours of labor, is not now denied by intelligent people, however much they may differ as to the proper remedy. The existence of the evils, the able Report of the Committee of the House in 1845, upon this subject, fully and clearly affirms. The results of these evils, though not immediately perceived to be of a serious character, will be more or less remotely felt by the community.

Among the most important consequences of protracted hours of labor, will be the effects upon the health of the laborers. The undersigned believe, that ten hours a day of constant application to labor, of any description, and under any circumstances, if continued for any considerable length of time in succession, is as much as the powers of the human constitution can bear, and, that a longer application than this, must result in serious detriment, and premature decay of the vital powers. They believe, that any number of persons, working ten hours a day, will accomplish during their lives, far more labor, than the same persons could do, by attempting to work more time than that per day. If this be true relative to persons in ordinary employments, it must be true in relation to the operatives in the factories, subjected, as they are to extraordinarily unhealthful influences and conditions. The nature of factory employments is such, that large numbers are congregated in

carefully closed rooms, and are obliged to breathe, during the whole day, the impure air, which is not properly changed by ventilation, during some seasons of the year, for months in succession. Of course, the evils of excessive hours of labor must be, from this cause, greatly aggravated.

In order to show conclusively to the Legislature, the nature and extent of this evil of working in non-ventilated rooms, to which the operatives are subjected, the undersigned take the liberty to introduce an extract form a "Report to the American Medical Association, submitted as a member from Massachusetts, of the Committee on Public Hygiene, at their annual meeting in Boston, May, 1849, by Josiah Curtis, M.D.," and published in the second volume of the "Transactions" of that Association. This report was made by Dr. Curtis, in obedience to a duty imposed upon him by appointment of the Association. He had no party purposes to promote by his report, and no theory to sustain. His only possible end could be, to elicit the truth for the furtherance of medical science, in its efforts to promote human happiness. It is, therefore, more valuable and reliable than the result of any personal observation and examination which the committee might have made. Dr. Curtis was furnished with all necessary and available opportunities, by the agents of the Lowell factories, for ascertaining facts and collecting information upon all matters having a bearing upon the health of the operatives. Having given the statistics of the Merrimack Mills, as to the number of persons employed, and the dimensions of the rooms in which they work, and the cubic space contained in them, etc., he proceeds as follows:

It will be seen in Table XVI, page 512, that on the Merrimack

Corporation, (and this is supposed to be a fair specimen) there has been an average of about 1600 males and females. We will make a liberal deduction, and assume 1350 only, as actually in the mills, and 250 employed in other places about the works. This gives 270 for each mill, and 55 for each room, containing only 64,670 cubic feet, inclusive of the space occupied by machinery. Some rooms have more operatives in them than others, and there are more at some seasons than at others, but we have taken the average. Here, then, we find a certain number for a definite time, in a limited space, without any ventilation whatever, except that of an accidental nature, at the doors of entrance in winter, and the same with open windows in summer, and this, too, with the thermometer ranging from 65° to 85°, through the winter months! This certainly demands attention, and calls loudly for reform. From the character and variety of the ailments that solicit relief at the hands of our profession in Lowell, we look upon this topic as the most prolific source of deteriorated health in the adjuncts of factory labor among us, and in our neighboring manufacturing towns.

After showing the importance of a large supply of pure air, to the healthy condition of human beings, Dr. Curtis proceeds:

The volume of pure air to be supplied to each person has also been estimated. This, too, varies in different circumstances. (The report here refers to a large number of authorities, giving different estimates, and, among others, to Dr. L. V. Bell, who "considers from 10 to 20 cubic feet per minute as not, perhaps, an unsafe estimate.") If we assume ten cubic feet each minute to each person as the proper standard, and this is the minimum of the more recent investigations, we find the fifty-five operatives in a room requiring 550 cubic feet per minute, 33,000 per hour, and not less than 450,000 during each day's period of labor, whereas, we have shown that they have but about 60,000, making some abatement for space occupied by machinery! In winter, moreover, for four months, when the windows are closed and generally double, each room has fifty solar lamps, burning morning and evening, which assist, not only in impuring the confined air, but also in raising the temperature frequently to 90° F. before closing work at night. In all kinds of weather, the operatives, with hastily adjusted dress, emerge from this atmosphere to their boarding places, partake of a plain but substantial dinner, and return to resume their labor in the space of forty-five minutes.

The air in these rooms, which ought to undergo an entire change hourly, remains, day after day, and even month after month, with only the precarious change which open doors occasionally give! There being no ventilation at night, the imprisoned condition of many of the rooms in the morning is stifling and almost intolerable to unaccustomed lungs. After the day's work is ended, two hours' release is enjoyed, a part of which is frequently spent in a crowded lecture room, and then they retire to dormitories scarcely better ventilated than the mills. From four to six, and sometimes even eight, are confined during the night in a single room of moderate dimensions. It is but just to say, that this remark will apply with more force to other corporations throughout the city, than to the Merrimack at the present time. The condition of these sleeping apartments probably would not be endured so passively, did not their occupants first become habituated to unwholesome air in the mills.[12]

If anything in addition were necessary, to show that the factory operatives are subjected to conditions unusually injurious to health, the following extract from a paper, read before the Middlesex District Medical Society, by the physician of the Lowell Hospital, will amply suffice. The paper contains a table exhibiting the statistics of the Lowell Hospital, from its organization, in May, 1840, to May, 1849. From this table, the extraordinary fact appears, that, of 1627 patients, 827 had the typhoid fever. This hospital is a private institution, established by the manufacturing corporations exclusively for the operatives. In remarking upon the above facts, which appeared from the records of the hospital, the physician, in this paper, says:

From the statements here furnished, it appears quite obvious that typhoid fever is not only a very constant, but also the most important disease among our operative population. It gives no evidence of the proportion it bears to the same disease, as it occurs with the rest of our adult population. Nevertheless, I think it must have been impressed

[12] In another place, in his report, Dr. Curtis says: "There is not a State's prison, or house of correction, in New England, where the hours of labor are so long, the hours for meals so short, or the ventilation so much neglected, as in all the cotton-mills with which I am acquainted."

upon the conviction of every physician, of several years' standing in our city, that our operatives, as a class, have suffered from it to a much greater degree than the citizens at large. If such is the fact, it becomes a matter of interest to inquire why it is so, and then, again, to ascertain if it is an evil which admits of a remedy, and, if so, what it is. My own opinion, however, is, that imperfect ventilation, in our cotton-mills, particularly, may have a very important bearing upon the question of causes of fever among our operative population. Air thus confined for the space of several months, in rooms occupied by some fifty persons, for twelve hours every day, except Sundays, must, sooner or later, make an impression upon the constitution, and thus indirectly, at least, become the means of inducing disease.

The foregoing extracts, from high and reliable authority, show conclusively the exposure of the operatives to extraordinary causes of disease, while engaged at their daily toil. A reduction of the hours of their daily labor, would take them out of the foul atmosphere of the mills a portion of the time they now are confined in it, and give them more time to breathe the fresh air, and their constitutions would thus be better braced up to ward off the attacks of sickness.

Prominent, among the evils growing out of the long protracted hours of labor in the factories, and which have a bearing upon the question of health, is the short time allowed for meals. In 1847, a step was taken towards a reform in this matter by an addition to time allowed for breakfast, and to the dinner time, during a portion of the year. The time now, however, allowed for this purpose, is quite too short. The operatives have forty-five minutes for dinner during the year, and the same time for breakfast during eight months. During the four months, from November 1st to March 1st, they take breakfast by lamp-light before going to work, and consequently, have but the one recess from labor, of forty-five minutes for dinner. In this brief three-

fourths of an hour, they put on their outer clothing, go from the mills to their boarding-houses, eat their hasty meals, and hurry back to their work by the time the wheel again moves on the machinery, which rests from its motion only for the forty-five minutes allowed for the recruiting by food the strength of its operative attendants. The general practice of mechanics and laboring people, except in manufacturing places, is, to take considerable more time than this for their meals. They usually take an hour at least for dinner, and the same time for breakfast, when they commence work before the morning meal. Physiologists tell us, that active digestion and active labor, either of mind or body, at the same time, is altogether incompatible, and that time should be set apart from labor, for the digestion of food, as well as for eating it. Some of them say that from an hour to an hour and a half should be devoted at each meal for digestion. . . [Extract from writings of Dr. Andrew Combe omitted.]

If the Legislature should think it proper to limit the hours of labor, this evil of allowing so short time for meals could easily be corrected, as, in that case, sufficient time for labor could be found without extending too far into the hours of night, or restricting unduly the time for meals.

A more satisfactory conclusion as to the effects of factory employments upon health, can be drawn from these and other known causes of ill-health, to which the operatives are exposed, than can be arrived at from any statistics, which have been, as yet, elicited in this country, to throw light upon this subject. There are, in fact, no statistics of the results of this system of labor upon health, which afford any means of comparison with similar re-

sults in the ordinary pursuits of the community. The following statements, however, may be interesting, as giving some data upon which to base an opinion.

The report of the committee of the House, in 1845, embraces the following results, obtained from the answers of the females working in Boott Mill, No. 2, to the following questions: What is your age? How long have you worked in a cotton mill? Is your health as good as before? The whole number was 203. Average age, 22 years and 85 days. Average time employed, 4 years and 29 days. Health improved, 29; as good, 119; not as good, 55.

It appears from this, that 14.28 per cent were in improved health, 27.09 per cent health not as good, and 58.62 per cent remained the same after working in the mills. This seems to be an uncommonly favorable result, as compared with the result of more extensive inquiries. These inquiries were made in 1841. In the same year, inquiries were made in the Lowell Mills of 2,611 girls, and this number probably includes the 203 in the Boott Mill, before referred to. In May, 1845, similar inquiries were also made of 1,424 girls at work in eight different mills in Lowell, and the following table, copied from Dr. Curtis's report, shows the results. They appear to be more unfavorable to health than the result in the No. 2, Boott Mill.

	1841 NO.	PER CENT	1845 NO.	PER CENT
Health better . .	170	6.51	154	10.82
Health as good . .	1,563	59.87	827	58.08
Health not as good .	878	33.62	443	31.10
Whole number interrogated	2,611	100.00	1,424	100.00

There are no means of ascertaining whether these statements show the effects of factory employments and their concomitant circumstances to be favorable or un-

favorable to health, because there are no similar statistics as to the state of the health of females, of similar ages, engaged in the ordinary employments. Upon this question, each person must exercise his own judgment and draw his own conclusions from the limited information imparted by the data as presented. From the statement relative to the girls in the No. 2, Boott Mill, it appears that their average age was about 22 years, and that their average time of having worked in the mills, was about four years. Allowing some time lost by sickness, and by being absent from the mills on visits to friends, and for other purposes, it is reasonable to assume, that their four years' time of working in the mills, covered the space of some five or six years, and that, consequently, their average age at commencing work in the mills, was about sixteen or seventeen years. It is probable that the ages of those embraced in the more extensive statements were about the same. The query then arises very naturally, without any statistics being at hand by which it can be answered, why, out of 2,611 girls at the age of 22 years, there should be 878, or 33 per cent, whose health is not as good as it was five or six years before, when they were at the age of 16 or 17 years?

But the above tables of the answers of the female operatives, do not show the full amount of ill-health among that class of persons, for the reason, that the questions were put to those alone who were well enough to be actually at work at the time. There are, at all times, some out of the mills too sick to work, and there is a constant changing of operatives going on, those whose health is somewhat impaired, retiring to the country to recruit their strength, while new and healthy persons take their places. These sick and weakened

persons are not comprised in the above statements, but the tables do include those who have just come in fresh and healthy to take their places, and who, of course, answer that they are "as well." Although it is a question of great interest and importance, it is exceedingly difficult to arrive at anything like an accurate conclusion in relation to the comparative health of the operatives. The constantly changing character of this part of the population of manufacturing places, sets at defiance all attempts to draw conclusions from the condition of those who are the subjects of observation at any one time. A respectable gentleman of Lowell, who has had, for many years, extensive opportunities for observation upon this subject, stated to the committee, as his opinion, that, taking the average of all the females that work in the mills, their health will permit them to work but about three years in all. Some, of course, enduring a much longer time, and many much less. He stated, that the larger portion of them, coming from the country, strong and healthy, work about a year, and then are obliged to give up for a few months to recruit their weakened constitutions. They then return again to the mills, and are able to work a somewhat less time than before. After again taking time to recruit, and again returning to the mills, their impaired constitutions, after another still shorter term of labor than before, generally compel them to cease entirely from their factory employment. These statements are corroborated, in essential points, by facts which appear in Table XVI of Dr. Curtis's Report, before referred to. This table of abstracts, taken from the books of the Merrimack Corporation, and covering the nine years, from 1840 to 1848, inclusive, shows the annual average number of females employed on that corporation, to be 1308, and

the average number who left work per month 146, and the average time they remain at work 8.95 months. Of course, these changes are not all on account of ill-health, though it is probable that very many of them are. Certainly, if the nature of the employment were not unhealthy, and the time devoted to labor not so long as to exhaust and debilitate the constitution, with the rates of wages higher than the ordinary compensation for female labor in other employments, there would not be this continual going and coming of old and new hands, by which the entire operative female population of a factory village changes on an average, every nine months.

Leaving theories and deductions from imperfect statistics, the following business letter from an officer of a health insurance company to one of its agents, may be deemed of some weight, as throwing light upon the question of health.

Office of Norfolk County Health Insurance Company, Lower Floor, Merchants' Exchange, Boston, July 27, 1849.

Mr. C. V. N. Brundige,

Sir, We have determined not to take any more applications, especially from the factories. Such places have been the graves of other companies, and we mean to avoid them. From what few policies we have there, we are constantly receiving claims. Doubtless there may be some good subjects there, but, from past experience, it would seem there was not more than a grain of wheat to a bushel of chaff, we can't distinguish them. Yours, Steph. Baley.

Here we have the opinion of no visionary theorist, upon the relative health of factory operatives. It is a practical, business conclusion, from the results of previous experience, and formed, purely, with a view to the risks and profits of a business transaction. Health Insurance Companies have suffered losses, both from real and feigned ill-health; and this determination of

the Norfolk Company, proves, that their opinion was, that there was more ill-health, or more dishonesty, among the operatives in the Factories, than elsewhere in the community. It will not be urged anywhere, that the letter quoted, was intended to impeach the morality of the operatives.

In coming to consider the moral evils resulting from the prolonged time of labor, it is proper to take into consideration the important change, that has been rapidly taking place in the character of the factory population, within the last few years. Instead of the female operatives being nearly all New England girls, as was formerly the case, large numbers of them are now foreigners. The infusion of foreigners among the operatives has been rapid, and is going on at a constantly increasing rate. This is an important fact to be taken into consideration, in connexion with this subject; for it will be found, that, in a few years, an entire modification, and depression of the state of society in and about manufacturing places, will be wrought by this cause. In view of this fact, it becomes especially important, that the Legislature should give attention to the condition of the factory population at this time, and adopt in season, all such measures, as it may safely and properly do for the preservation and improvement of their moral character. The general good of the community, and the true and permanent welfare of the great business of manufacturing, demands this.

Excessive labor not only debilitates the body, and thereby exposes it to disease, but also tends to exhaust the mental powers, and thus expose the whole moral and intellectual character to undue and dangerous depression. To this evil and danger, the factory operatives, that large and valuable class of the population of

this State, which, by their labor, produce so large a portion of its material wealth, are especially exposed. Reliable authorities upon the condition of the English factory operatives, attribute much of their immorality, and particularly their intemperance, to their former long hours of labor. They say, that working excessive hours, produces lassitude and listlessness of mind; and consequently, those who desire to enjoy a little of life, during the short time between working and sleeping, in order to keep up the tone of the system sufficiently to do so, resort to intoxicating drinks, to stimulate and exhilarate themselves into a more conscious state of existence. Habits of intemperance, were thus formed and fixed upon the unfortunate, over-worked operatives, and they were sunk to the lower depths of vice and degradation, which has been so notorious in the history of English manufacturing. But it may be said with entire truth, that the American operatives are intelligent, moral and temperate, and in this respect, totally unlike in character, the operatives of England. The true reason for this great distinction, may also be correctly stated, by saying that, unlike the English operatives, their early education and moral training, in their New England homes, enlightens their minds and establishes them in virtuous and temperate habits. But this does not show that protracted labor does not tend in the same direction, here, as in England. If there be power in the character of the morally and religiously instructed American operatives, to enable the large majority of them to withstand the evil influences, it is not to be expected, that, amidst the great diversity of character, of those collected together in our factories, these influences should not have some effect upon a portion of them, who have a less degree of stability of mind. And

it now becomes a matter for serious consideration, as to what will be the result of these influences upon the foreigners, who within a few years, have been fast gathering into our manufacturing establishments, and who have not had these American advantages of education. While they are here subjected to the same evils of protracted labor, and the same inducements for the use of stimulants as were the operatives in the English factories, and finding intoxicating drinks much cheaper, what will prevent them, even more rapidly and surely, from becoming victims of intemperate habits?

The tendency, and probable ultimate results of excessive hours of labor, upon the intellectual character of the factory population, it is important to take into consideration in this connection. By the present system of working, no sufficient time is allowed between working and sleeping, for the improvement of the mental faculties. The simple statement of the hours of labor, making allowances for meals, etc., as previously stated, shows this without further remark. It is true, that a portion of the operatives devote some hours, after closing work at night to this purpose; but they do so at the sacrifice of their bodily health. They have not, heretofore, as a class, been inferior in intellectual and moral character, but probably have been in this respect, fully up to the standard of any large class of laboring people in the world. Their moral and intellectual acquirements, however, are not the result of their factory life; for the plain reason that no time is there allowed for this cultivation. Their fortunate condition in this respect, is owing to their previous education in our New England Common Schools. Their working twelve hours or more, per day, in the noxious air of the factories, tends to deaden the mental vigor, although it

may not quench the intellectual fire once lighted. But far different results must be anticipated for the future, when there is taken into consideration, the rapid influx of foreigners, which is fast changing the character of the factory population. If this change continues to go on, there will soon be gathered into the manufacturing places, a strictly manufacturing population, permanently bound by circumstances, to factory employments, similar in character to the factory population of England. This class, not enlightened by the early education which has distinguished the American from the English operatives, and having no time allowed for culture after entering the mills, must remain, and continue in their unenlightened condition. These persons, when wearied down with the multiplied evils of protracted labor, will have no kindred in the country towns, where they may retire, and thus withdraw from observation, the living examples of the results of overtaxed energies. Then, the evils of excessive hours of labor will become manifest in the depressed tone of the moral and intellectual character of the mass of operatives, and also in their deteriorated physical condition.

One of the important evil results of devoting so much time to labor, is the increased competition of labor, which is thus brought to bear against the interest of the working classes, in all branches of industry throughout the community. Prolonging the hours of labor, decreases, in some degree, its wages. The compensation of labor is fixed, by the inevitable law of supply and demand. If there be more work to be performed than the laborers who are at hand can execute, of course, the wages of labor will rise in proportion to the shortness of the supply. If, on the contrary, there be a surplus of labor—more persons offering to labor than are required,

to execute the amount of work to be done, then the necessitous unemployed laborers will underwork the others, and the whole scale of wages will consequently be reduced. This competition of labor, by an excessive number of laborers, may also result from the excessive hours of labor. For, although it is probably true, that a given number of persons can perform more work during the terms of their lives, by working ten hours a day, than by working twelve hours a day, and, that in those branches of industry, where the whole work is performed by the powers of the human bones and muscles, unaided by machinery, a person can generally do about the same amount of work in a day, working ten hours, as he will if he works twelve hours, yet when the work is principally executed by water, or steam-driven machinery, which only needs to be tended, of course, more work will be accomplished, in proportion to the number of hours, which the operatives attend to it and keep it in motion. And thus, though the ultimate results may be otherwise, the immediate result from the number of hours of labor, is a competition of labor. For, if one thousand persons, working ten hours a day, are able to execute all the labor which the wants of a community call for, by adding two hours a day to the hours of labor, the thousand persons can do more than is required to be done; and consequently, a proportionate number are thrown out of employment altogether. This is particularly true, where machinery is extensively used, as in manufacturing employments. The necessities of a portion of the laboring classes are such, that they are dependent upon their daily toil for their support; and in Massachusetts, there is always a surplus of labor unemployed. Those, therefore, who are out of employment through the effects of the excess of the

hours of labor, go into the labor market and underbid those who are at work, and thus the general rate of wages is reduced. A reduction of the hours of labor then, would, to some extent, reduce the surplus of labor, which is now competing against and crowding down the interests of the laboring classes, and, while it would relieve them from the other evils of over working, would tend to enhance the relative compensation of labor.

The evils of the present system of excessive labor being such, is it right and expedient for the Legislature to interfere to regulate and limit the hours of labor? In approaching this subject with a view to mitigate the abuses and correct the admitted evils of excessive hours of labor in the manufacturing establishments, by legislative enactments, some practical difficulties present themselves. But nevertheless, the undersigned are of the opinion, that the circumstances of the laboring classes are such, and the evils, present and prospective, entailed upon society from this cause, so great, that a necessity exists for this interference of the Legislature, and, that the attendant difficulties of restrictive legislation are not insuperable.

That the Legislature has the right to restrict the time of labor, and particularly in the works of incorporated companies, is not now denied. The report of the committee of the House in 1845, asserts the right of the Legislature to control, in this respect, not only corporations, but also, individual employers. The committee on manufactures, of the Legislature in 1846, (Senate Doc., No. 81) also affirm the same doctrine relative to corporations. The report of that committee upon this subject says:

That upon manufacturing corporations, in reference to the hours

of labor, the Legislature have a right to interfere to the extent asked, perhaps does not admit of a doubt. Corporations are creatures of law, and in most cases, even in terms, they are made subject to future enactments and control. The question in this respect, therefore, is only one of expediency.

It is the opinion of the undersigned, that it is a sound general principle, that government should not interfere with the industrial pursuits of the people any further, than is necessary for the preservation of order and the rights of individuals. If this rule were strictly adhered to throughout, the natural laws relative to such matters, would, on the whole, lead to the most successful results, and in such a manner, as would be most conducive to the general welfare. But in relation to the great business of manufacturing in this State, the Legislature, with the intention of promoting the manufacturing interest, has by its action, interfered with, and destroyed the natural relations ordinarily existing between the class of employers and the class of employees. That natural equality of condition, which ought to exist between the two classes, and which would enable each party to exercise its due share of influence in fixing the rate of wages, the hours of labor, and all their other relations, by mutual arrangement and agreement, does not practically exist between the corporations and the great mass of laborers in their employment. The Legislature, in order to concentrate power for the more successful prosecution of useful manufacturing pursuits, has, by its acts of incorporation, created, as it were, immense artificial persons, with far larger powers than are possessed by individuals. These artificial creatures of the Legislature, upon which are bestowed vast powers, unlike individual employers, are not chastened and restrained in their dealings with the laborers, by human

sympathy and direct personal responsibility to conscience and to the bar of public opinion. The transactions between the corporations and the laborers, are conducted by agents, who are hired to so manage, as to make the most profits for the stockholders; and the stockholders, throwing all responsibility upon the corporations, receive their dividends with a high opinion of the fidelity and efficiency of these several agents, high and low, who have managed so profitably, but they know nothing of the hardships endured by the laborers, whose work has produced all they thus receive. The larger corporations employing large numbers of laborers, all act substantially in concert, in dealing with laborers, and avoid all competition in over-bidding for labor. They are thus enabled to fix inexorably, without consultation with the laboring class, all the terms and conditions of labor. The will of the corporations thus becomes law, and declares how many hours the laborers shall work, and how much shall be their compensation. From this decision of these powerful employers, large masses of the laboring people have practically no escape. Circumstances, practically compel them to submit to the offered terms. Many of them must do so, or have no work at all; and to some, this is equivalent to having no honest means of support. The power of the corporations, thus exercised in determining the conditions of labor of large numbers of the laboring classes, not only oppresses those whom they employ, but also exerts a powerful influence to depress the condition and prolong the hours of labor in every branch of industrial pursuits.

The government of the State having thus, with the design of effecting other important and useful results, incidentally wrought an injustice to the laboring classes,

it now becomes its duty to interpose its authority to relieve them from the hardships which its own acts have indirectly imposed. If the two classes – the employers and the employed, stood upon the general platform of our institutions, with the powers alone of natural and ordinary persons, the necessity now urged, might not exist, and they might probably, be safely left to arrange all matters, including the hours of labor, by mutual agreement. But the natural state of equality having been destroyed, as regards this large class of persons who work for the large manufacturing corporations, a manifestly different state of things is presented for consideration. If their hours of labor be excessive, or if they be subjected, by the nature and condition of their employment, to other evils and abuses, they have in themselves, no power of remedy. If they suffer wrongs and evils which they ought not to suffer, they can look only to the Legislature for redress. If the Legislature has, on the one hand, exercised its power to strengthen the capitalist for the more successful prosecution of useful enterprises, it should, on the other hand, when occasion requires, uphold and protect the interest and welfare of the laborer against the crushing effects of that augmented power.

These are deemed to be the special reasons why the Legislature ought to interpose its authority to limit the hours of labor in the factories of the incorporated companies of this State. It is believed that in most, and perhaps all industrial pursuits, whether conducted by corporations or by individual enterprise, it would be for the interest of both employers and employed, if the hours of labor were limited so as not to exceed ten hours a day.

But the great amount of practical evils resulting

from the excessive hours of labor, exist chiefly in connection with those employments, which are, for the most part, carried on by the corporations. The remedial laws, therefore, should be applied where the evils exist, and should not be carried beyond the necessity which calls for them. These corporations are in some sense, institutions of the State; and the evils complained of as arising from excessive hours of labor, the State is in some degree responsible for. The State ought, therefore, to correct the evil in the institutions of its own creation. If it should do this, the example thus set would be of sufficient weight to induce a general reduction of working time in all ordinary employments conducted by individual enterprise; and it would also exert a powerful influence to produce the same result in the adjoining states. Let the Legislature establish this example by restricting the corporations, and individual employers in all branches of industry may safely be left for the present, to make such arrangements with their laborers, as they may mutually deem advisable, and as the peculiarities of any branch of business may specially call for.

Already, even with the powerful example of the corporations against them, in many places the mechanics and laboring people, in various trades and employments which are carried on by individual enterprise, have established by mutual arrangement with their employers the "ten hour system" of labor. In the city of Boston, in many branches of industry, laborers work but ten hours a day. By this arrangement they have secured to themselves more time for relaxation and mental improvement, and without a consequent reduction of wages. They receive on an average as high, and in some cases higher daily wages, than those who work

more hours. In these cases of reduction of the hours of labor, the inexorable law of supply and demand, as fixing the rate of wages, has been vindicated; for the reduction of the hours of labor did not reduce its daily wages, but in some cases, a reduction of the hours was followed by an increase of wages.

The introduction and growth of manufactures, in all countries have always been attended with much evil to the working people engaged in them. It has been so elsewhere, and the United States, in her late rapid progress in this branch of industry, does not constitute an exception. Notwithstanding the large amount, and great variety of manufactures in this country at this time, manufacturing here, is, as yet, but in its infancy. It is destined to increase and spread, and become the business and means of livelihood of many millions of the American people. How important it is then, that due vigilance should be exercised by the Legislature, to prevent the accompanying growth of those evils, which have always beset and oppressed the masses of a manufacturing population. It cannot be, that they are the necessary concomitants of the business of manufacturing. There are no irremovable causes why this should not be a healthy, moral and respectable branch of human industry, opening a wide field, for the permanent and steady, happy and well paid employment of the American people. Such an employment, it does not now afford, as is shown by the facts herein before stated, that, from some cause or other, the female operatives in the Lowell mills, remain at work on an average, less than nine months at a time. But such an employment it may be made, by proper guards and restraints, seasonably applied by the Legislature.

The excessive hours of labor in manufacturing estab-

lishments is not a new subject of legislation. It has attracted the attention of legislators in various parts of the United States as well as those of other countries. The state of Pennsylvania has deemed it wise to enact laws, limiting to some extent the hours of labor in certain branches of manufactures. New Hampshire, and perhaps some other states have legislated with a view of limiting the hours of labor. The legislature of Maryland has, at its last session, had the subject under consideration, and an act relative to it passed one of its branches. In England, the accumulating evils concomitant with the progress of manufactures, made it necessary, as long ago as 1802, to interpose an act of Parliament for the "preservation of the health and morals" of those employed in cotton and other factories. Afterwards, at various times, modifications of the laws upon the subject were made, and in 1833, an act was passed limiting the hours of work to not more than twelve hours in any one day, and not exceeding sixty-nine hours in any week. In the year 1847, an act of Parliament was passed, further limiting the time of work to ten hours a day, and not exceeding fifty-eight hours in any one week. This is now the law relative to the hours of labor in the factories of England. It appears from this, that the operatives in the factories of Massachusetts, work, on an average throughout the year, fourteen hours a week more than the factory operatives of England do; and a portion of the year our operatives work more than twenty hours a week longer than the English operatives do.

Sooner or later, the hours of toil of the laboring classes here, must be reduced and limited. Until this be done, their burthens will be constantly increasing, and the evils of over-working will become year after

year more manifest. The multiplication of labor-saving machinery, instead of relieving them from the necessity of devoting so much time to labor, seems but to add to their hours of labor. The great influx of foreigners into Massachusetts depresses their interest by a constant surplus of unemployed labor. The limitation of the hours of labor in the factories, would relieve them to some extent of a competing surplus of labor, and thus enable them to receive a better remuneration in proportion to the labor they perform, and at the same time, give them a better opportunity to enjoy the blessings which flow from the improvement of the higher faculties, which are bestowed upon and distinguish the human race.

Nor is it difficult to see, that the restriction of the hours of labor, will harmonize with the true interest of the manufacturing capitalist and employer. Indeed, to that sagacity, which, acknowledging a moral government of the universe, looks beyond immediate profits to ultimate results, the permanent interest of manufacturing cannot be best promoted by a system which inflicts wrong and injustice upon the laborers, whose continued services are indispensable to its success. It cannot be otherwise than that, in the long run, it will be found that the best welfare of this great interest, taken as a whole, will be most effectually promoted, by securing to the operative class, not only equitable remuneration, but also time and opportunity to reasonably partake of all the enjoyments, moral, intellectual and social, which are the ordinary lot of humanity in the usual walks of life, and also for that continually progressive culture and improvement, which are necessary to enable them to keep pace with the rapid increase of general intelligence, which characterizes this age of the world.

The employing manufacturers will generally find, that, the higher the degree of intelligence is which pervades the mass of their workmen, the better work they will perform, and they will do their work to more advantage and profit for them. Even now, in the comparative infancy of manufactures in the United States, some fabrics are produced, superior in quality to similar articles manufactured in the old countries where they have the acknowledged advantages of far greater manufacturing experience. These triumphs in the productions of our manufactories, it is believed, have been achieved principally in consequence of the superior general intelligence of our operatives and mechanics. These triumphs can only be maintained by preserving and improving the intellectual condition of our laborers. Let, then, their hours of labor be reduced, and their general condition and well-being thereby improved, and a better and more intelligent class of persons will offer their services for this kind of employment; and while remaining in it, they will, with time and opportunity (which they do not now have) for improvement, continually advance in general intelligence, as it is the nature of the human mind to do under proper circumstances. They would also remain more permanently and steadily at work, instead of changing, on an average, every nine months as at present; and the employers would consequently have better skilled and more expert workmen. The operatives would thus become more valuable, as members of the community, and at the same time, render a more profitable service to their employers, by producing improved fabrics. When it is taken into consideration, that, in many articles of manufactured merchandize, it is the best goods which command the markets, it will be seen how important it

is to the manufacturing interest, that such regulations should be adopted, as will permanently secure intelligent operatives in all its branches.

There is another weighty consideration, which tends to show, that the interest of the employers harmonizes with that of the laborers in the reduction and limitation of the hours of labor. It has often happened in the manufacturing districts of the old world, that under a speculative demand for goods, the factories have been run to the greatest possible extent of time and capacity, and by this over-action a large surplus of goods accumulated. There then being no real demand for the goods, necessity has obliged the stopping of the mills for a time altogether, to the great distress of the poor and dependent operatives, and to the overthrow and pecuniary ruin of the proprietors. The same disastrous convulsions, and in a great measure from the same causes, have not been unknown in the comparatively brief history of manufactures in Massachusetts. The same degree of distress has not here resulted to the laboring classes, as in England and elsewhere; because the rich unoccupied lands of the West have furnished them a resource and a refuge, which has, as yet, kept the majority of them from sinking to the same degree of absolute dependence. But not unfrequently has overwhelming and total pecuniary destruction resulted in these cases to the proprietors of factories, except those very extensive establishments, having sufficient resources to ride out the storm, which has resulted from over action. If the hours of labor were restricted, a speculative demand for goods could not so readily stimulate production and overstock the markets, beyond the real demands for consumption. Taking all the factories in the State, into consideration, they probably do not keep their machin-

ery in operation, on an average through a series of years, more than sufficient time to make ten hours a day for the whole time. They run a portion of the time from eleven to fourteen hours a day, and at other times, in consequence of over-stocked markets, many of them are obliged to stop entirely. The operatives are thus subjected at times, to the evils of excessive labor, and at other times, to the no less evil of being altogether unemployed. If the hours of labor were restricted, both evils would in a great measure be avoided, and the advantages of greater regularity and safety be secured to both employers and employed.

In cases where a reduction of the hours of labor has been tried, experience has proved its wisdom, and that it has resulted advantageously to employers as well as to the laborers. In Boston and vicinity, no evil has resulted to any class from the reduction of the hours in certain employments. And in these, the reduction has been to an average time of much less than ten hours through the year; they working but ten hours during the summer, and in winter only from sunrise to sunset, deducting an hour for dinner, which gives but eight hours working time in the shortest days.

A practical machinist carrying on business as such in Lowell, and employing some ten or twelve hands, stated to the committee, that for several years he had worked on the system of reduced hours of labor. He works in summer about one hour, and in winter from two to three hours per day less time than the hands work in the machine shops of the corporations. Yet he stated, that he goes on successfully, his hands making as large or larger wages than the hands in the shops of the corporations, and, that with the same number of hands, he can get off more work in the same number of days, than

they can in the shops where they work more hours than he does.

In England, the restriction of the hours of labor has worked successfully, and is now acknowledged by some of the most distinguished manufacturers there, to have resulted advantageously to proprietors as well as laborers. After experiencing the beneficial effects of the reduction to sixty-nine hours a week, some of the proprietors of factories made, voluntarily, a further reduction, without any reduction of wages. The following extract, from an address to their work-people, by the Messrs. Marshall of Leeds, flax-spinners, gives some evidence of the view taken of this matter, by intelligent factory proprietors of Great Britain, after an actual experience of the practical effects of the reduced hours of labor:

> In 1834, we made a voluntary reduction in the hours of labor in our manufactory from sixty-nine hours per week to sixty-six hours per week, without any reduction of wages. That plan has been, in our opinion, a successful and beneficial measure. We think that the present is a favorable opportunity for making a further reduction in the hours of labor, and we propose to commence from the beginning of next quarter, March 30th, to work sixty-four hours per week, paying the same wages as now!

This was previous to the passage of the act of Parliament reducing the hours of labor from sixty-nine to fifty-eight hours per week. It is the opinion of practical manufacturers, after a full experience of results.

The undersigned believe similar beneficial results to proprietors, laborers, and to the community generally, will ensue in Massachusetts, from a reduction of the hours of labor in the manufacturing establishments. They therefore respectfully recommend the passage of the following Bill.

JAMES M. STONE, SALMON THOMAS.

(2) Dr. Curtis's Summary.

Transactions of the American Medical Association, vol. ii, 1849, p. 519.

The following is Dr. Curtis's own summation, given in the paper quoted by the minority.

1. The peculiarity of Lowell, as embracing the leading manufacturing community in America, renders the investigations of health and longevity among us, worthy the most impartial and anxious scrutiny.

2. The fluctuating character of our operative population renders it exceedingly difficult to arrive at accuracy in points of public health among them.

3. The limited investigations hitherto adopted can furnish no correct idea of their comparative health, nor of the comparative health of Lowell.

4. Though many points demand attention, yet, to imperfect ventilation, or rather to an absence of ventilation, more than to any other one cause, can we trace the origin of impaired health.

5. The operatives are more comfortable and healthy than several other classes of our citizens; and as healthy, perhaps, as the aggregate of all other classes.

6. Much might be done at a trifling cost, compared with the value of results, to elevate their physical condition; and it is earnestly hoped that some hygienic changes will be adopted.

4. THE FIRST TEN-HOUR LAW, NEW HAMPSHIRE, 1847

(a) REJOICING

Voice of Industry, July 9, 1847.

ALL HAIL NEW HAMPSHIRE! The "Ten Hour Bill" passed the House by one hundred and forty-four majority!

As we anticipated, New Hampshire has done something for the Laboring Classes, by the passage of a Ten Hour Bill through the House of Representatives, on Saturday last. We have not seen the Bill, and therefore do not know its precise provisions; but should it prove only general, constituting ten hours a legal day's work in the absence of special contracts, a great step has been gained, and should further action become necessary to secure the objects asked for by the petitioners, doubtless it will be had. If a general law will prove an antidote for the present long hour system of labor, which is doing untold violence to the best interests of thousands of our working men and women, we shall be satisfied with that; we have feared, however, that corporations, through their combined power and wealth, could not be effectually reached without some special or stringent act, as they would be enabled under a general law to institute their own rules relative to the hours of labor and denominate them "special contracts," entered into with or by the consent of their operatives. We regretted very much that the last year's legislature of New Hampshire did not do something upon this subject. The members of that body, professing so much

regard for humanity as they did, could not have done less, as consistent men, than to have passed a general law upon the subject; and we verily believe that no one thing militated more against them at the last election in that State, than their indifference upon this question. The large vote in favor of the bill is a pleasing demonstration of the progress of so just a cause, and one which should make Massachusetts Legislators blush with shame. While "poor benighted New Hampshire," and old despotic England are legislating for the people and humanity, Massachusetts, the home of the Pilgrim Fathers, turns away from the petition of fifteen thousand of her citizens, with the pretense that "it is inexpedient to legislate upon the subject," while fifteen thousand rag dollars would have elicited her sympathy and co-operation. Let her beware for the future, for the people are beginning to think for themselves. We shall publish the Bill passed by the New Hampshire House of Representatives as soon as received.

(b) MISGIVING

New York *Weekly Tribune*, Aug. 14, 1847, p. 5.

Having been far away at the West when this act was passed, and not having been able to lay hands on a copy for some days after our return, we have been constrained to listen to the discussion of its merits without being qualified to participate therein. If we mistake not, most of those out of the State who have most volubly debated this measure have refrained from publishing it, leaving at least one of their readers imperfectly enlightened by their dissertations. Having at length, however, obtained a copy of the act itself, we give place to it—as follows:

An Act regulating the Hours of Labor in Manufactories.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court convened, that in all contracts for or relating to labor, ten hours of actual labor shall be taken to be a day's work, unless otherwise agreed by the parties; and no person shall be required or holden to perform more than ten hours labor in one day, except in pursuance of an express contract requiring greater time.

Section 2. No minor under the age of 15 shall be employed in any manufacturing establishment more than 10 hours the day, in any labor, without the written consent of the parent or guardian of such minor first obtained. If any manufacturer, or any corporation, or the agent of any manufacturer or corporation, shall employ any such minor in violation of the provisions of this section, he or they shall be punished by a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars.

Approved July 3, 1847.

This certainly seems to us a very poor affair, but not at all for the reasons assigned by the mass of its adversaries. They condemn it for attempting to limit the hours per day of hired labor; we for doing so little toward the accomplishment of that important end. With regard to Minors, especially, we did hope to find this act far better than the mockery it is. The policy of Legislative interference with the contracts of Adults for their own services may be questioned; but who can seriously doubt that it is the duty of the Commonwealth to see that the tender frames of its youth are not shattered by excessively protracted Toil? Will any one pretend that ten hours per day, especially at confining and monotonous avocations, which tax at once the brain and the sinews, are not quite enough for any child to labor statedly and steadily? Is it not a chief and powerful argument for any Legislation on the subject, that the constitutions of the future fathers and mothers of the Nation may be and are undermined and broken down by persistent labor through twelve to fourteen hours per day? If this be so, (and we have the most irrefragable testimony that it is,) why should "the con-

sent of the [?] parent or guardian of such minor" be allowed to overrule the demands of Justice, Humanity and the Public Weal? On what ground is this manifest recreancy to the vital principle of the act defended?

So of the provision "under the age of 15." Girls of 15 to 18 or 20 should be most carefully shielded from the life-long evils which result from excessively severe or protracted toil, not only for their own sakes, but in view of their duty and destiny as the future wives and mothers of the nation. There is no reason for legislative interference in favor of a younger class which does not equally plead for them. And if ten hours per day be enough for any one to labor steadily—as the spirit of this law clearly implies—it should not be within the power of a father or mother (who may be living in drunken idleness on the earnings of a child's overtaxed energies) to make void the immunity of the Law. We apprehend, too, that, with regard to farming and other out-door labor, the act might well have provided for an hour longer per day in Summer, to be balanced by working an hour less than ten in Winter—which would very nearly conform to the general usage. But we shall hear farther on this point.

We apprehend this act will prove worthless as a practical measure, and leave everything very nearly as it was. We believe nothing less than a peremptory prohibition of the employment of minors for more than ten hours per day, without regard to the consent of parents or guardians, will effect much, if anything. Still, we are willing to see a trial made even of this milk-and-water enactment. Should it be found to answer no purpose, but that of appeasing popular demand, it will not be likely to effect even that for any considerable time. . .

(c) AWAKENING

Voice of Industry, Aug. 27, 1847.

Tremendous Excitement at Manchester, N.H.—Meeting at the City Hall. Just as we are going to press the Manchester *Democrat*, containing an account of a crowded and exciting meeting, held in the City Hall in that place, to consider the "Ten-hour Law," is received. We have only room to give the following Resolutions offered for the consideration of the meeting.

RESOLVED, that we hold these truths self-evident, that man is endowed by his creator with certain inalienable rights; among which is life, liberty, the pursuits of happiness, a home on the earth, a right to labor, and the power to limit for himself, his hours of labor.

RESOLVED, that agreeable to the laws of New Hampshire, Ten Hours constitutes a legal day's work.

RESOLVED, that ten hours' labor in each day is all that man's constitution is able to bear.

RESOLVED, that on and after the 15th of September next, we will not work more than the legal number of hours in each day.

RESOLVED, that we will sign no contracts to work more than ten hours per day.

RESOLVED, that, to the support of these Resolutions we pledge our lives and our sacred honor.

RESOLVED, that a copy of these Resolutions be sent to each of the manufacturing towns in the State.

RESOLVED, that a copy of these Resolutions be published in the Manchester *Democrat and American*, and the *Voice of Industry*, published in Lowell, Mass.

(d) PROTECTION VERSUS FREE TRADE

New York *Weekly Tribune*, Oct. 16, 1847, p. 3. Extract from the Dover *Enquirer*, Sept. 28, and comments by the editor of the *Tribune*.

The New-York *Tribune* is so uniformly sound and correct in its views, that those who are compelled to differ with it, upon any subject, will act the part of prudence by giving their own opinions a "sober second thought." We are constrained to think, nevertheless, that the *Tribune* has not duly considered the circumstances under which our "Ten-hour Law" was passed—and that the Whig Press of

this State, in almost uniformly taking ground against (1) it, have not only acted the part of prudence and duty, but have expressed the honest convictions of a large majority of our people of all political parties. The *Tribune*, if we recollect the tenor of its article, does not entertain a very high opinion of the law itself: it pronounced it, we think, a "poor affair"– but it is disposed to censure those manufacturing establishments which choose to pay no other attention to it than to make such contracts (2) with those in their employ as the necessities of the case and their mutual interests and convenience dictates. Let us look at some of the circumstances connected with and bearing upon this matter:

In the first place, let it be borne in mind that this law was got up and passed by our radical Legislature, not from any sympathy with the laboring man, but to vent their spite against manufacturing corporations, and with the hope of causing them some embarrassment by creating difficulties between them and their operatives. A large majority of the voters in all our manufacturing villages, like all other intelligent communities who read and think for themselves, are Whigs, and, in the support which they give to Whig principles at the polls, exert an important influence upon the politics of the State. This influence is felt and feared by our radical leaders – and anything which they can do to weaken it, or detach (3) it from the Whig party, they never fail to perform, however outrageous or unjust the act may be. A local quarrel, whether about "Temperance" or "Ten Hour Laws," which they can foment in such towns as Manchester or Dover, by which the Whigs may fail to elect a Representative, or what is better, throw the delegation into their hands, is equal to a gain of from sixteen to thirty Representatives to them, or more than their whole majority in the last Legislature. This was the main reason for the passage of the law. It was never asked for by any considerable or respectable number of the laboring people of the State. The men who were most clamorous for it were either those too idle and vicious to work at all, or those noted as "hard drivers," exacting from those under them the utmost amount of labor for the smallest possible amount of pay. Such, at least, is their character in this town, and we suspect that this is a fair type of them everywhere. The habits and occupations of our people, as a body, are utterly averse to all such sumptuary legislation; most of them are their own laborers, and work (4) sixteen, ten or six hours, more or less, just

as their business requires, or inclination prompts. No one for a moment supposed that the law would ever have any practical application unless it was in our large manufacturing establishments, who might be coerced into a compliance with it by the fear of a repeal of their charters, or some other mischievous interference with their rights by a radical Legislature. The very title of the law – "An act to regulate the hours of labor in manufacturing establishments"– betrays the prime object of it, although its authors did not dare to make the spirit of it thus exclusive.

Again, it should be considered that the manufacturing establishments in this State must (5) run as many hours as similar establishments in other States, or they cannot run at all without loss to their stockholders. If a mill in Dover runs but ten hours, while in the adjoining town of South Berwick, or in Lowell, or Saco, a similar mill runs twelve hours, it is evident that the latter is reaping an advantage which must be ruinous to the former. In establishments where millions of dollars are invested, and thousands of operatives are employed, two hours, or one-sixth of the whole day, deducted from the time of active operations, would form in the aggregate a drawback which could not be withstood – especially when active competitors all around were not subjected to it. The "Ten-hour Law" might be a very good thing, if all the world would conform to it – and so would Free (6) Trade – but while one man labors twelve hours, his neighbor, to live alongside of him in the same kind of business, and with no better facilities, must do the same.

The whole matter is one which can be best regulated by those whom it most concerns – the employer (7) and the employee. And such, we are happy to learn, has been the course pursued. The largest portion of those employed in our mills – working as they do by the job or piece – are desirous of working as many hours as they can. Those who take a different view of the matter, seek other employers, or different occupations. It is a free country.

REMARKS. Profoundly convinced that sinister influences are operating to throw a portion of the Whig Press of New-Hampshire into a false position on this Ten-hour question – one wrong in itself, and therefore calculated to work serious and lasting injury to the Whig cause – we have felt constrained to speak out. The above is the first response that has met our eye.

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Let it be fairly considered, and, that it may be, consider these notes upon it also:

1. The Ten-hour Law was passed, if we mistake not, by a vote of some three or four to one – only some forty Noes in a House which numbered over one hundred and thirty Whigs. It is now undisputedly a law of the State. In what sense, then, is the Enquirer "taking ground against it?" Advocating its repeal is a perfectly allowable, though to our mind a very idle and suicidal course; but if the phrase is meant to cover the justifying of violations or palpable evasions of a law of the land by those who profess a regard for "Law and Order," then we think a Whig Press might be better employed.

2. We have not condemned the making of contracts for working a greater number of hours per day than ten, where each party is left really free to contract, as the law evidently contemplates. But if, as is admitted, the laborers have the contracts presented for their signature, under peril of ejection from employment if they see fit to refuse, while a secret agreement among the employers of the entire State, and with others out of the State, binds each not to employ any who refuse to sign a contract to work as many hours per day as the employers see fit to exact, then it seems clear that the law is evaded and subverted; and it appears to us that such conduct deserves stern reprobation, whether from those who believe the objects of the law salutary, as we do, or who dislike them, as the *Enquirer* would seem to do.

3. Admitting all this to be true, does it become Whigs to run into the trap which is thus set for them? If the Loco-focos have passed a bad law, the way to make the People feel it is by rigidly obeying it and insisting on a general conformity to its provisions. If it is their ob-

ject to defeat the choice of Representatives in Dover, Manchester, &c. is not the *Enquirer* playing exactly into their hands? Would it not be infinitely wiser and better if the Whig employers in manufacturing towns would just call their workmen together and ask them to say frankly and plainly whether they desire any change made in the Hours of Labor, and if any, what change? If the men are nearly all in favor of working twelve hours or so per day, why not submit the question to them, and let the voice of the majority govern? There must be a way to harmonize these matters. Demagogues can only find their account in fomenting difficulty between employer and laborer when there is smouldering discontent—we had almost said injustice—to operate upon.

4. Whose business requires? and whose inclination prompts? Who decides on the urgency of the requirement? Who are adverse to a legal regulation saying beforehand how many hours per day a man shall work under a general contract to labor by the day, month or year? Does the *Enquirer* really mean to affirm that the hired laborers of New-Hampshire are willing that their employers shall determine whether a working day shall consist of six, of ten, or of sixteen hours? If it does mean this, then we beg leave to say that we do not think there are such abject serfs in any Georgia cotton-field or Carolina rice-swamp. Will the *Enquirer* speak more clearly on these points?

5. No, my friend! your *must* is very positive, but it is confuted by mountains of experience. Robert Owen ran a whole village of cotton-mills for some twenty years, working only ten hours per day, while his neighbors and competitors all around ran from twelve to sixteen, yet he made money as fast as any of them—made all he wished.

The same experiment has been tried a thousand times in a thousand ways, and with a uniform result. Great Britain is now trying it by a law imperatively forbidding more than eleven hours' work in a day in factories during the present year, or more than ten hours after this year. Does anybody believe her manufactures will be ruined under this law by American, German and French rivalry? We are confident that very nearly as much work would be accomplished in ten hours as in twelve or thirteen, while a great saving would be effected in lights, fuel, &c. You can't get more work out of a man than there is in him; and if ten hours' active, faithful labor per day is enough, protracting the hours of toil to twelve or thirteen will effect no good purpose. It is just like giving workmen liquor in order to extract work from them; for a few days it may seem to answer; but after that the liquor only serves to extort as much work as was formerly done without it, and hardly that. "Enough is as good as a feast;" to obtain more for a series of years is morally impossible. And beside, does not the *Enquirer* see that its argument proves, if anything, that, whenever the employers of Massachusetts, Rhode Island or any other State shall see fit to exact from their "hands" eighteen hours' labor per day, it will be absolutely necessary for those of New-Hampshire to follow their example?

6. We don't believe "Free Trade" would be "a good thing" if universally adopted – on the contrary, we think its evils would be magnified. "Free Trade" between an old and a new country, a rich and a poor one, a savage and a civilized, is not fair and equal, but tends to repress the development of new branches of Industry in the least advanced and capable. It is the scourge of India and the Oriental world generally at this moment, draining

them of their wealth to purchase the products of British looms and spindles which were far better fabricated among the consumers. "Free Trade" with England, in view of the great Manufacturing ascendency of the latter, is among the woes of unhappy Ireland, whose people would be better employed and subsisted under an import duty of fifty per cent.

But the Ten-hour system, we are told, would be a good one if all would conform to it. Well: how are we to approach such conformity? If the dissent of anybody anywhere is to nullify, what hope that it can ever be established? Shall we not rather say, seeing it is a good thing, we will cling to it, and suffer some inconvenience rather than let it be overthrown?

7. We dissent altogether from this view of the matter. It befits a Loco-foco, not a Whig, paper. It concerns us all that our laboring people, the young especially, have opportunity for improving their minds, making themselves acquainted with the events and the ideas of our time, so as to be qualified for discharging faithfully their duties as freemen, citizens, electors, or the mothers of such. Excessive toil, especially in youth, unfits us for some of the most important duties and relations of life. If, therefore, a whole community grossly ignorant of the laws of life and health, could be tempted by high wages or driven by want into working fifteen to eighteen hours per day, it would be wrong in the State to allow and right to forbid so destructive a course. But when the fact is that Power and Avarice on the one side are arrayed against Humanity and Public Policy on the other, the State ought to interfere between them—must do it. We had heard already that the freedom of this country is so extreme that those who have no shoes are perfectly at liberty to go barefoot, but the freedom of a man hav-

ing a family to support and a rent to pay, who is offered the alternative of working as many hours as another chooses to exact or being thrown out of work and allowed to seek it elsewhere, while his children must be fed and his rent runs on–and in the face of a secret agreement among employers not to hire any one who is discharged for refusing to work more than the legal hours per day–goes entirely ahead of anything we ever heard of. How can we determine how many "are desirous of working as many hours as they can" while such are the penalties of an adherence to the Ten-hour system?

5. PENNSYLVANIA TEN-HOUR LAW, 1848[13]

(a) THE ACT

New York *Weekly Tribune*, April 22, 1848, p. 5.

An act to limit the hours of labor, and to prevent the employment in factories of children under twelve years of age.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that labor performed during a period of ten hours in any secular day, in all cotton, woolen, silk, paper, bagging, and flax factories, shall be considered a legal day's labor, and that hereafter no minor or adult engaged in any such factories shall be holden or required to work more than ten hours in any secular day, or sixty hours in any secular week, and that after the fourth day of July, of the present year, no minor shall be admitted as a worker, under the age of twelve years, in any cotton, woolen, silk or flax factory, within this Commonwealth; that if any owner or employer in any such factories aforesaid, shall employ any such minor, he shall be adjudged to pay a penalty of fifty dollars, one-half to the party so employed, and the other half to the Commonwealth, to be recovered in like manner as debts of like amount are now recovered by law. Provided, that nothing contained in this act shall be construed to prevent minors above the age of fourteen years from being employed more than ten hours in any day, if the same be done by special contract with their parents or guardians.

If the Laboring Class is thankful for such a Reform as this, they certainly cannot be deemed deficient in gratitude. If anybody can tell why young women working in a book-bindery, shoe-bindery, milliner's shop, or any such, do not need and have not a right to equal pro-

[13] Following the enactment of the law on July 4, 1848, the cotton factories in Allegheny City laid off 2,000 employees. A riot occurred July 31, when operatives who returned to work on the twelve-hour basis were driven from their work. Six months afterward, thirteen of the rioters were convicted. A settlement was made August 28 on the ten-hour basis with reduction in wages of sixteen per cent.—ED.

tection by law with spinners and weavers, we should be glad to know it. How is it supposed that such enactments can be maintained and enforced when only a few specified avocations are subjected to their provisions?

Then as to minors: either sixty hours per week is as long as children ought regularly to work, or it is not. If it is, with what justice does the Legislature prescribe that the consent of parents or guardians shall suffice to constrain them to work longer? To us it seems that such consent argues the unfitness of the giver to exercise discretion in the premises, and deepens the responsibility to act in the matter, and act conclusively.

This act is very much of a humbug, but it will serve a good end. Those whom it was intended to put to sleep will come back again before long, and, like Oliver Twist, "want some more."

(b) THE OPERATIVES

Pittsburgh *Daily Commercial Journal*, July 21, 1848, p. 2.

An adjourned meeting of the operatives in favor of the law, fixing ten hours a day's labor, was held at the Allegheny Market House, on Tuesday evening, July 18, 1848. Mr. J. Moffit, President, and J. W. Bradley, Secretary. The minutes of the preceding meeting were read and adopted. Mr. D. J. Smith then offered the following resolutions, which were passed unanimously.

Whereas, the operatives of Allegheny city factories have taken a stand in favor of the ten hour system, as secured to them by the recent action of the Pennsylvania Legislature, they are hereby deprived of their legitimate means of a livelihood, and would appeal to the sympathies of a generous community for such aid as may enable them to withstand the injustice of their employers in endeavoring to exact from them more hours of labor

in the close and imperfectly ventilated factories than they are constitutionally able to bear, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that a committee of nine be appointed by this meeting, to solicit donations from the inhabitants of the two cities for the above purpose.

RESOLVED, that said committee be authorized to distribute the proceeds of such donations as they may receive, impartially to such operatives as may make application.

RESOLVED, that the chairman of said committee, report to each meeting, the amount they may have collected and distributed.

(c)THE EMPLOYERS

Pittsburgh *Daily Commercial Journal,* Aug. 3, 1848, p. 2. Statement of the Manufacturers.

The undersigned, proprietors of the various cotton mills, situate in the city of Allegheny, having in view a decent respect for public opinion, and to shield ourselves from the obloquy and reproach endeavored to be cast upon our characters, by various and oft repeated misrepresentations of our motives and business, in connection with what is called the ten hour law, have judged that the time has arrived, when a simple and temperate exposition of facts, might be proper and useful in directing the public mind to just and equitable conclusions.

The profits of manufacturing yarn and coarse cotton goods have been greatly overrated in the U. States for a long time. It has had its seasons of prosperity, with alternate periods of depression and adversity–while public estimates appear all to have been predicted upon the bright and sunny side of the picture. That the general and aggregate result has not been at all adequate to justify the risk and trouble incident to its pursuit, is the experience of nearly all who have been long engaged in the

business—at the present time it is laboring under considerable adversity, of which the suspended establishments in the North and the reduction of wages in the favored region, are unmistakable evidences. Nor is the future free from strong and gloomy apprehensions—these arise principally from the immense importations under low duties—the scarcity of money—and the vast increase of machinery and its productions in the United States, which has reduced the domestic fabric to a small, regular and net profit. In this active home competition, the manufacturer in Pennsylvania is required, by the late law, to meet the enlightened and energetic New Englander in a common market—the one with the product of twelve hours' labor—the other with the product of ten hours' labor—a difference of one sixth, or nearly 17 per cent of a discriminating duty, enacted by Pennsylvania against the labor of her own citizens and operatives. Surely no argument is necessary to convince an enlightened and calculating public that however desirous the owners of mills may be to get their machinery in operation again, they are completely shut out from the exercise of that right under the late law—unless it be by adopting the proviso it contains, that special contracts may be made for twelve hours' labor.

Some time previous to the late law taking effect, the undersigned had a meeting, to compare their experience, and form a judgment as to their ability to adopt the ten hour system: the result of our deliberations was then recorded, and from the minutes we extract the following—viz:

At a meeting of the proprietors of cotton mills, held in Pittsburgh, on the 23d of May, 1848—the subject of the late law of Pennsylvania, regulating the hours of labor in cotton mills, after the 4th of July next, being under consideration, it was unanimously

RESOLVED, that we cordially approve of the benevolent action of

the legislature, in excluding children under twelve years of age from employment in factories, and believe that at no time was it the interest of them or their employers; but that the practice originated through the entreaties of indigent parents, whose wants were supplied by their earnings. We at the same time sympathize with many widows and others, in afflictive circumstances, in being thus deprived of their ordinary supply of the daily necessaries of life.

RESOLVED, that the extensive and enterprising competition in the various states of the Union, in producing coarse cotton goods, has reduced the business to an estimated and small profit, and that, whilst other manufacturing communities, both in the free and slave States, are untrammeled in the hours of their labor, any attempt on the part of Pennsylvania alone to reduce the hours of labor, would have a most destructive tendency on a great, growing and important branch of industry, conducive alike to the comfort and prosperity of our Commonwealth.

RESOLVED, therefore, that from necessity, we must continue to employ our machinery twelve hours per day, as heretofore, and in conformity with the provisions of the law, adopt a system of special contracts with the operatives.

A common desire on our part, and amongst a respectable, industrious and orderly portion of the operatives of both sexes, to resume our labors as usual, induced us, not to evade the law, as has been reported, but to comply with its terms and requirements by making the special contracts for 12 hours. In this attempt of the employer and employed, to execute their lawful business, in the only way in which the Pennsylvania Mills can be saved through the provisions of the law, the violence of the mob is known to the public, and if approved and acquiesced in by them, has effectually suspended operations, until such legislation shall prevail in Pennsylvania, or be adopted in other states as may place the Cotton Manufacturing interest of this great Union on one common footing as regards labor, which is only another term for wages.

We have no desire to advert to the personal violence,

the abuse of our property and of our common rights as citizens, which have all been outraged. We allude to these proceedings incidentally, and only because we fear and regret that the effect produced may be to prejudice the good will, cordiality and friendly feelings, that happily have heretofore existed between the proprietors and the operatives of the Allegheny Mills, and which need not be impaired–if they are left to control and adjust their own concerns, and consult their own interests.

We hope, therefore, that we may be correctly understood by the public, in reference to the position we now occupy, not through any choice of our own, but by reason of the necessity that is laid upon us.

First, that whilst in other States they run their machinery 12 hours or more per day, we cannot successfully compete with them, working 10 hours per day.

Second, that the mills must and will remain suspended until we are placed on a common platform with other States, of which we are now deprived, unless we can operate under the special contract provisions of our Pennsylvania law.

Third, that we are ready and willing to resume our business whenever we can do so, with no greater burdens, restrictions and dangers, than what are common and incident to the business elsewhere.

BLACKSTOCK, BELL & CO., Pitt Cotton Mill
P. MCCORMICK, Hope Cotton Mill
KING, PENNOCK & CO., Eagle Cotton Mill
MOORHEAD, COPELAND & CO., Union Cotton Mill
KENNEDY, CHILDS & CO., Penn Cotton Mill
N. VOEGTLY & CO., Star Cotton Mill
JAMES A. GLAY, Allegheny Cotton Mill.

Pittsburgh, August 2, 1848.

(d) THE POLITICIANS

Pittsburgh *Daily Morning Post*, Aug. 25, 1848, p. 2.

THE FEDERALISTS. Resolved, that the Whig party is now, as it always has been, the true advocate of the interests of the working classes – that they are the hope of the country, and deserve the fostering care of the Government – that we ardently desire to see their condition ameliorated, and will contribute all in our power to accomplish that object. That this Convention believes that the moral and intellectual condition of the laboring classes of the country, would be essentially improved by laws establishing ten hours as the period of a day's labor; and that we repel the often repeated charge, that the Whigs are not the sincere and consistent friends of the working classes. . .

THE DEMOCRATS. Resolved, that this Convention, acting for and in behalf of the Democratic people, instruct our members, in the event of their election to the Legislature, to sustain "the ten hour law," and expunge therefrom the special clause in said act; that the law will then be absolute and imperative on wealthy task masters:

RESOLVED, that the members from this county in the last Legislature, in the place of performing an honest duty to our people, refused to vote for a law calculated to confer benefits on those that are obliged to labor, to sustain themselves honestly; and who are not favored by bank loans; but at the same time took care to benefit rich property holders, by placing a heavy tax on the county, and by granting to speculators the bed of our rivers on the mere pretext of mining for Coal, which is a direct monopoly of the sand and gravel, to the manifest wrong done our people; and renders their conduct unworthy of the support or confidence of the voters of this county.

RESOLVED, that our Delegates are hereby instructed to cast their votes for no man for Governor of this Commonwealth, until they are satisfied he is in favor of a Ten Hour Law, the hope and consolation of the sons and daughters of toil; and we pledge such the votes of the mechanics of this district; and it is to be hoped that mechanics and laborers and the humane of all parties, will aid the good cause by their votes.

6. TEN HOURS BY TRADE AGREEMENT, 1853

New York *Daily Tribune*, Aug. 5, 1853, p. 4.

We have been so thoroughly gratified by a perusal of the recent proceedings of the Operatives and Employers engaged in the Manufactories of Delaware County, Penna., that we must give a brief account of them for the edification of others, trusting that they will be deemed worthy of approval and imitation.

The factories of Delaware County are numerous, though we believe few or none of them are very extensive, nor are they concentrated in any one populous city as at Lowell, Mass. or Manchester, N.H. They have hitherto been working twelve hours per day. The workmen generally considered this too much, and, after due discussion and consideration, met by delegates from the several establishments at Media on the 16th ult. They there resolved that the regular Hours of Labor ought to be reduced to ten per day, adopted an Address setting forth their reasons for this conclusion, and appointed a Committee of five to prepare a suitable memorial on the subject, procure the signatures of operatives thereto, and present it to their employers. All this was duly and respectfully done—the Address being free alike from Jacobinic rant and cringing subserviency—and on the 23d the employers met at Chester to consider the requisition. A Committee was appointed to take the workers' request into consideration and report thereon, which was done in a considerate and manly spirit; the report dissenting from some suggestions embodied in the workers' memorial, but concluding with the following resolutions:

RESOLVED, that we unanimously accede to the request to introduce the ten hour system into our respective establishments, to take place on the fourth Monday in August next.

RESOLVED, that prior to the time specified in the foregoing resolution, each employer be recommended to adjust the wages with those employed on equitable principles.

RESOLVED, that having acceded to the request of our operatives, we now in justice to ourselves, as well as to them, expect they will use every honorable exertion to bring about the general adoption of the ten hour system in all factories throughout the United States.

Here we see the whole question settled, so far as a large manufacturing district is concerned, without denunciation, bitterness or wrath, and without invoking the interposition of laws or politicians. The laborers simply consider the matter, resolve that sixty hours per week are as many as they think they ought to work, and they appoint a Committee to confer with their employers and submit to them the considerations which have impelled them to this conclusion. They urge that they need more time for intellectual and moral culture, for the training of their children, &c., than they can give after having performed twelve hours' labor per day in factories; and that, if they cannot earn their present wages by working ten hours, they are willing to take less. The employers meet in like manner, consider the respectful but frank suggestions of their workmen, accede to the Ten-hour System, and ask the workmen to use their best efforts to render the Reform universal. And thus the matter is happily and kindly adjusted — we confidently trust to the advantage of all parties. . . .

V

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

INTRODUCTION

The depression which followed the panic of 1837 lasted nearly seven years and was marked by reductions in wages. Prices began to rise in 1843 and the upward movement continued for two or three years. The effect of the increase in the cost of living soon made itself felt among the working classes. Complaints that the tariff was protecting capital and degrading labor appeared in the public prints, and soon the complaints were followed by numerous strikes throughout the country. In Cincinnati several trades were organized so that a trades' union was proposed, but the project seems not to have been carried out. There and elsewhere strikes were sporadic and without concerted action.

How American industry had changed since the panic is illustrated by these strikes. Factory operatives who had been unimportant in the earlier labor struggles now were the leaders. Machinery had created a place for women in industry, and they were organizing with the men to maintain the standard of living. Machinery, too, was creating a class of unskilled labor, and a laborers' union appeared. A strike of immigrant dock workers showed that the foreigner was taking his place in American industry. Finally, the development of transportation facilities widened the sphere of competition and made necessary the equalizing of competitive conditions with respect to the cost of labor throughout the country. We find, therefore, that the hatters, the tailors and the weavers hold national conventions to fix uniform

prices of labor for all the manufacturing centers; and the Lynn shoemakers call upon their craftsmen throughout New England to meet in convention for a similar purpose.

Before the unorganized strikers could be united in permanent labor organizations, however, prices had resumed their downward course. Strikes were now futile and the workers turned their attention towards labor reform through legislation and through coöperative purchasing and mutual insurance. In Boston, they organized the Working Men's Protective Union to carry out this plan. When the New England Workingmen's Associations failed to shorten the hours of the factory system, the operatives turned to the idea of the Protective Union, or coöperation, as a means by which they could themselves improve their conditions. They organized local Protective Unions and affiliated with the Boston Union. The divisions spread through all the New England states, and the name was changed to the New England Protective Union. It grew rapidly in power and wealth.

In England at this time the Rochdale coöperative system was entering a similar career of success. But there does not seem to have been any connection between the two movements; and their methods of business were wholly different. The Englishmen sold at market prices and divided the profits among the purchasers. The working men of New England wanted to abolish profits. They aimed to sell at cost. The Protective Unions exhibited a distinct class movement of working men to whom the idea of profits appeared as an injustice. They organized to protect their standard of living in the only way in which they could succeed in a period of falling prices, by eliminating all unnecessary expenses, and aiding each other in sickness and misfortune.

For a few years this purpose of the Protective Unions was kept pure. But when the transactions of the divisions mounted up to hundreds of thousands of dollars, the profit-making idea intruded. Some divisions began to sell goods to non-members at a price below that of the market, but with a profit to the members. This and the sick-benefit features caused the first disputes in the Unions; and the splitting off of the American Protective Union from the New England Union was due to a desire on the part of some members to have business principles supersede the working men's notions of protection and solidarity.

The organization of the New York Protective Union in 1847 marked the addition of a new principle to the Protective Union idea. The workers would not only eliminate the menace to their wages by doing away with but they would also employ themselves and thereby abolish the profits on their labor, and assure themselves of steady employment. Strikes and the law had both failed to protect the workmen. They would therefore eliminate the menace to their wages by doing away with the employing class. In their own shops they would establish the laws which the legislatures refused to enact. And when a majority of the industries had been thus transformed, there would be no need to petition the government for protective laws. It would be compelled to recognize in law the conditions which already existed in fact.

This plan was as revolutionary as the theories of the Associationists and the Land Reformers; but it seemed to offer immediate results to the workers. It contained the elements of a comprehensive social reform, yet appeared less remote than the recognition by society of the "natural right to the soil" or the "right to labor." Making its appeal to working men as a class, and growing out

of their own experiences, the plan was quickly taken up by their organizations which appeared with the rising prices in 1850. The whole trade-union movement of this and the following year in New York, Boston, and Pittsburgh was permeated with the idea that coöperation offered the best mode of protection to workmen and the ultimate means of solution for the problems of labor.

The revival of business activity during the years 1853-1854 brought forth a new type of union, now disdainfully called "pure and simple," by the radical socialist. It steered clear of all programs of social and political reform, and confined its activities to improving the conditions in the trade. Its main weapon was the strike; its aim, to establish a minimum wage for the trade and to maintain it by means of a closed shop. This new and limited program made possible trade agreements between unions and employers, which fixed for a stated period the wages, hours, and other conditions of employment.

1. SPORADIC UNIONS, 1842-1846

(a) THE CAUSES

(1) The Course of Wages.

Mechanic's Mirror,[14] June, 1846, p. 146.

The Price of Wages per day, for Masons and Laborers, in the month of May, in the following years:

	MASONS	SHILLINGS	LABORERS	SHILLINGS	
1832	"	13	"	7	
1835	"	14	"	8	
1836	"	17	"	10	after the great fire in the city of New York
1837	"	15	"	8	
1838	"	13	"	7	
1839	"	13	"	8	great expansion of the currency
1840	"	12	"	6	
1841	"	12	"	7	
1842	"	11	"	7	
1843	"	12	"	7	
1844	"	13	"	8	
1845	"	14	"	8	

In addition to the rise in wages, from 1842 to 1845, there have been employed from 50 to 75 per cent more men than there were from 1838 to 1842.

Joseph Tucker, Wm. Tucker, James Harriot, Amos Woodruff, James Webb, Samuel Oliver, Mechanics of the city of New York.

By this table, it appears that ten years ago the wages of masons in New York were exactly the same as they are to-day. Has the expenses of mechanics increased or decreased since that period? What, with idle time, is their

[14] The *Mechanic's Mirror* was published in Albany as the organ of the Mechanics' Mutual Protection, a secret order of masters and workmen for protection mainly against the competition of prison labor.

average wages? How much can a mechanic lay up for sickness and old age – and what comforts the mechanic in New York çan enjoy from his wages, in comparison with those engaged in some other business, are questions which we should like some of the brethren in New York to answer.

(2) The Tariff and the Working Man.
Voice of Industry, July 17, 1845, p. 3.

LOOK AT THE TWO PICTURES. The first is from the Boston *Morning Post*: look at it and shout "long live a protective tariff," which thus enables princely nabobs to swell their overgrown coffer at the expense of the laboring poor.

COTTON FACTORIES. The Merrimac Manufacturing Company has just declared a semi-annual dividend of 10 per cent and its profits for the last six months having been 13 per cent. A surplus reserve fund is accumulated in spite of its large dividends and large salaries to its officers, which is sufficient to build a very large addition to its productive power. Some years since it made a dividend of one third its capital at one dash, and now puts its cash funds to a use that will earn some 25 or 30 per cent return annually.

The Boott Mills Company is found to stand so well, that 25 per cent advance is freely offered for it and for Suffolks, 40 is asked. Indeed, the new copper mines of Lake Superior can hardly make money so fast as the Lowell factories are now doing.

Then look at this – and exult at the prospect that opens before you, if you can.

PROTECTION TO HOME INDUSTRY. The Lowell *Patriot* says:

We are informed that the wages of many of the operatives employed in one of the largest woolen corporations in this city have been greatly reduced within a short time past. Hands who have had $1 per day now get $.75 and generally the reduction is in that ratio.

Twenty-five cents reduction! What blessed effect of protection! The hard laboring community will soon fully understand that fat dividends to stockholders afford no surety of just and liberal wages.

This is a progressive system. As agriculture in New England decays, and the "populace" become more dependent upon factory wages, their earnings will be reduced until their productions will, indeed be the result of pauper labor.

(b) STRIKES AND ORGANIZATIONS

(1) "Rebellion among the Operatives."
New York *State Mechanic*,[15] May 18, 1843, p. 205.

TURN-OUTS. There are symptoms of rebellion among the operatives in all quarters. At Lowell, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Chicopee, and elsewhere, outbreaks follow each other among different classes of mechanics. They are attended by processions, that are in imitation, if not "as terrible as any army with banners." The evils of which they complain, are, the order system, by which they are subjected to extortionate prices for articles of necessity, or to ruinous discounts for cash, which is indispensable for many purchases; and in some cases, they are oppressed by a decrease of wages and an increase of labor. This was the cause which led to the glorious turnout of the fair operatives in the factories at Chicopee. They formed in solemn column, arrayed in their best bibs and tuckers, and marched to the music of the drum and fife through the streets, and waved their kerchiefs to the girls in the other mills to join them. Failing to enlist reinforcements, they returned to their places. A few days afterwards they mustered their forces again, with as little success as before, and to add to their discomfiture, when desirous of turning in a second time, they were turned out by their employers. Processions and martial music are now the usual accompaniments of strikes. The brickmakers of Pittsburgh made a parade of their forces recently, and joined other

[15] The New York *State Mechanic* was the predecessor of the *Mechanic's Mirror*.

bands of the disaffected in general assembly. We have not been apprised of the result of their deliberations.

(2) Movements of the Trades.

Working Man's Advocate, July 27, 1844; quoted from the *People's Paper* (Cincinnati), Oct. 14, 1843.

It gives us unspeakable pleasure to observe the progress the workies are steadily making. We have hitherto contended that it was impossible, in large cities, for mechanics to redress their grievances, unless they formed societies, resolved to firmly adhere to each other, and boldly demand their rights. Experience proves that we were correct in our opinions.

The wages of the Printers, in this city, had been reduced to such a degree that many of them could scarcely procure the necessary comforts of life. . . They embodied themselves into a society–their efforts proved successful, and they are now receiving a fair compensation for their toil. Out of eighty-two Journeymen Printers in the city, only five or six have been found mean enough to succumb to their employers–or rather, masters, for such men need masters–and work for less than the wages established by the Society.

The Shoe-makers, the Tailors, the Cigar-makers, and others, followed the example of the Printers. Each class have formed a society and will consequently do well. The Cabinet-makers and Carpenters should now come up to the work. We believe they have been more imposed upon than any other branch of mechanics in this city. They should, therefore, throw off all seeming meekness, boldly confront their oppressors, and fearlessly demand their just dues.

Working Man's Advocate, July 27, 1844.

By a report of the corresponding secretary of the Typographical Association of this city, it appears that

several employers who had agreed to the prices established by the Association in the spring have reduced them, and others are about to do so. Among the rest it is said that Mr. John F. Trow, the Corporation Printer, "is determined to set his face against the Association." One employer who was interrogated, said he "lost a job in consequence of being underbid by some who does not pay Association prices," and that "he should be obliged to reduce or lose his work." . . The Tailors of this city, who are now on a strike for higher wages, walked in procession on Monday through the principal streets, accompanied by two bands of music. It is computed that there were about two thousand in the procession. Many of the Tailors are now looking for a radical remedy for their grievances as well as the temporary one of strikes. Their General Convention takes place on the 25th instant, and we trust the measure of the National Reform Association will not escape their notice. The Hand Loom Weavers of Paterson are also on a strike for wages. Some of the employers have acceded to their demands. . . The Cordwainers of Lynn, Mass., have established a paper of their own, and are taking measures to send delegates to the New England Convention. The resolutions of the Ladies' Corwainers of this city have been republished by the Lowell *Operative* and Boston *Laborer*, and are promised in the *Awl*, the new paper at Lynn. . .

(3) A Trades' Union Proposed.
The *People's Paper* (Cincinnati), Oct. 26, 1843.

We observe by yesterday's *Daily Sun* that the mechanics of our city are endeavoring to establish a "Trades' Union Society." Nothing could have pleased us better, for we have always believed that an association of this kind cannot but be conducive of good. Through its in-

fluences our honest artizans would become united and endeavor to assist each other all in their power. By it, one branch would sustain and uphold another in seeking for its rights, and being thus made somewhat dependent upon each other, they would be bound by ties of friendship and respect that it would be impossible for monopolists and speculators to sever.

Capitalists, within the last few years, have combined together, in this city and elsewhere, for the purpose of working to each other's advantage. For instance—Builders have engaged hands to work for trade, stating that they "could give nothing else," when, in fact, money was paid to the employer for the work, or would have been paid, if required. Prior to this, however, the master-mechanic, or "boss", as he is technically termed, has been to some merchant and made arrangements to "order on him." When the poor laborer presents his order, the merchant knows very well that the man has no other resource, and that he will be compelled, from absolute want and necessity, to take the articles called for in the order, no matter what be the price; consequently the dealer charges whatever he pleases for an article, no matter if it be three times its actual worth. By this process, too, the "boss" makes not only a profit on his work, but he also achieves a vast deal of benefit by speculating on the money he gets for it. He bargains with the produce dealers, etc., to trust him a year or so, and let those whom they employ have goods on orders, while, in the mean time, he withholds money from his journeyman more than doubles in various speculations.

This kind of game has been played upon the industrious portion of the population all over the country, and it now behooves the mechanics to unite, as one man, if they ever expect to obtain a redress of grievances. It is

the only way, in our opinion, by which the humble artizan can obtain money or its equivalent for his toil. No other method can be adopted to frustrate the disposition of the avaricious few to grind down the honest laborer and force him to toil for a compensation that will barely furnish bread and water. Men, men—patriotic, hard-toiling freemen, have been trampled and crushed beneath the feet of soulless and grasping speculators, until they have grown desperate at the indignities and impositions heaped upon them. They find that, in order to preserve themselves and their children from sinking beneath the grade of the serfs and boors of Europe, they must throw off all seeming meekness and boldly confront those capitalists who would make a ten-fold profit from their labor. A "Trades' Union" is well calculated to benefit them much in their plausible exertions to gain what they are indubitably entitled to, and we sincerely hope that such a society will, ere long, be established in this city.

(c) A LABORERS' UNION

New York *Daily Tribune*, Sept. 16, 1843, p. 3.

At a Mass Meeting of the Laborers' Union Association held in the Park on Friday evening, the 15th instant, Daniel B. Taylor was appointed President, James B. O'Donnell, Vice President, and David S. Roach, Secretary.

James B. O'Donnell, Esq., then offered the following preamble and resolutions, accompanied by a few remarks, which were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, a proper regard for the preservation of our own rights and interests requires, on our part, the adoption of measures for the attainment and maintenance of those rights, so far, at least, as they relate to the wages of

the laboring class; and whereas a system has grown up amongst us within the last few years affecting the interests of workingmen in general, by which unlimited power is given to petty persecutors under the name of Contractors and Sub-contractors, to obtain our services at their own will, and at their own price; and, whereas we have heard it suggested that in order to remove the objections made by mechanics against the system of labor now practised in our State Prisons, that it be abolished, and the convicts employed upon our public roads, thus transferring the oppression heretofore experienced by every class of mechanics, to one body of workingmen—the Laborers, those least able to bear it, and whose rights and true interests it seems must be totally disregarded, in order to redress a grievance which other modes will as well accomplish; and whereas the compensation received at present by the Laborers of the City of New-York is an inadequate return for the arduous services they render their employers, and believing it to be the duty of every man to procure by just and honest means a proper remuneration for his labor, therefore,

RESOLVED, that we, the Laborers of the city and county of New-York, will, orderly, peacefully, but resolutely, demand of our employers an increase of wages; and for the purpose of obtaining it, hereby unitedly pledge ourselves to labor for no man who does not award to us an equal compensation to that which the laborers in the immediate employment of the Common Council receive.

RESOLVED, that the sum of one dollar per day is but a reasonable remuneration for the toilsome and arduous duties that we have to perform.

RESOLVED, that the Common Council of this city be, and they are hereby requested to embody in all contracts

given by them to contractors, by which laborers will receive employment, a clause compelling the contractors to award to their laborers wages equal to those paid by the Common Council themselves.

RESOLVED, that we will support no person for the next Legislature, or for the next Common Council, who will not pledge himself to use his exertions to create such laws as will place the Laborers upon an equal footing with the most favored men who depend upon the sweat of their brow for support.

RESOLVED, that the abolishment of Convict Labor in our State Prisons, so far as it affects mechanical occupations, is a just and equitable measure; but the employment of Convicts upon our Public Roads is an interference with the immediate interests of Laborers, and is, in our opinion unjust, it being a transfer to which we never shall quietly submit, and which no real friend of Workingmen would desire. . .

The meeting was eloquently addressed by the President, Daniel B. Taylor, Esq. and Messrs. Abraham B. Davis, Jas. B. O'Donnell, Webster and Murphy.

DANIEL B. TAYLOR, President.
JAMES B. O'DONNELL, Vice President.
DAVID S. ROACH, Secretary.

(d) AN IMMIGRANTS' STRIKE

New York *Weekly Tribune*, May 2, 1846, p. 3, col. 3.

. . . As we understand it, a large number of Irish laborers have been at work in Winter for certain contractors for sixty-five cents per day, and the days were made pretty long at that. With this compensation, amounting to $3.90 per week, the laborers must of course live as they best could, some of them having large families to support. As the rent of any decent tenement in

Brooklyn would absorb nearly the entire earnings of a laboring man at this rate, they were allowed to build miserable shanties on ground allotted them by the contractors on the plot occupied by them in performing the work.

As Spring opened and days became longer, labor more effective and employment more general, the poor laborers began to grumble at their hard lot, and at last united in an effort to improve it. They asked for 87½ cents per day (about equal to 50 in Vermont, or 37½ in the West) and to have ten hours recognized as the limit of a day's work. The contractors refused to comply with their demands; whereupon the laborers struck work. The contractors hired a cargo of freshly landed Germans to take their places, and ordered the old laborers to quit the premises, which they refused to do, and resorted to the lawless, unjustifiable step of endeavoring to drive the Germans from the work by intimidation and violence. Of course the Military were called out, the Irish overawed, the Germans protected in their work, and thus the matter stands. So far, the contractors may be said to have triumphed. . .

(e) WOMEN WORKERS

(1) Female Industry Association, New York.

Working Man's Advocate, March 8, 1845, p. 2, col. 3-4; quoted from the New York *Herald*.

. . . Seldom or never did the Superior Court of the City Hall contain such an array of beauty under suffering, together with common sense and good order, as it did yesterday, on the occasion of the meeting of the female industrial classes, in their endeavors to remedy the wrongs and oppressions under which they labor, and, for some time past, have labored. At the hour appointed for the adjourned meeting, four o'clock, about 700 fe-

males, generally of the most interesting age and appearance, were assembled; and, after a trifling delay, a young lady stepped forward, and in rather a low, diffident tone, moved that Miss Gray take the Chair, which, having been put and carried in the usual business-like way—

Miss Gray, (a young woman, neatly dressed, of some 22 or 24 years of age, fair complexion, interesting, thoughtful and intelligent cast of countenance) came forward from the back part of the room. She proceeded to make a few observations on the nature and objects of their movements and intentions, and stated that, finding the class she belonged to were unable to support themselves, honestly and respectably, by their industry, under the present prices they received for their work, had, therefore, come to the determination of endeavoring to obtain something better, by appealing to the public at large, and showing the amount of sufferings under which they at present labored. She then went on to give instances of what wages they were in the habit of receiving in different branches of the business in which she was engaged, and mentioned several employers by name who only paid them from $.10 to $.18 per day; others, who were proficient in the business, after 12 or 14 hours hard labor, could only get about $.25 per day; one employer offered them $.20 per day, and said that if they did not take it, he would obtain girls from Connecticut who would work for less even than what he offered. The only employer who had done them justice was Mr. Beck, of Fourteenth street, who only allowed his girls to be out about two hours, when he complied with their reasonable demands. He was a man who was worthy of the thanks of every girl present, and they wished him health, wealth, and happiness. How was it possible that on such an income they could support themselves decently

and honestly, let alone supporting widowed mothers, and some two, three, or four helpless brothers and sisters, which many of them had. Pieces of work for which they last year got seven shillings, this year they could only get three shillings.

A female stepped forward . . . and enquired if the association was confined to any one branch of business, or was it open to all who were suffering under like privations and injustice?

The Chairwoman observed that it was opened to all who were alike oppressed, and it was only by a firm cooperation they could accomplish what they were laboring for.

Another female of equally interesting appearance (Mrs. Storms) then came forward and said that, it was necessary the nature and objects of the party should be distinctly understood, particularly by those who were immediately interested; their own position should be fully known. If the supply of labor in the market was greater than the demand, it followed as a matter of course that they could not control the prices; and, therefore, it would be well for those present to look around them and see into what other channels they could turn their industry with advantage. There were many branches of business in which men were employed that they could as well fill. Let them memorialize the merchants in the dry goods department, for instance, and show them this also. That there were hundreds of females in this city who were able to keep the books as well as any man in it. There were various other branches of business in which men were employed for which females alone were suitable and intended. Let these men go to the fields and seek their livelihood as men ought to do, and leave the females their legitimate employment.

There were the drapers also, and a number of other branches of trade in which females could be as well if not better and more properly employed. By these means, some thousands would be afforded employment in branches much more valuable to themselves and the community generally. She then proceeded to recommend those present to be moderate in their demands, and not to ask for more than the circumstances of trade would warrant, for if they acted otherwise, it would tend to their more ultimate ruin. Under present circumstances, a very few years broke down their constitutions, and they had no other resource but the alms-house, and what could bring this about sooner than the bread and water diet and rough shelter, which many of them at present were obliged to put up with.

The proceedings of the previous meeting were then read and approved of.

A number of delegates from the following trades entered their names to act as a Committee to regulate future proceedings: tailoresses, plain and coarse sewing, shirt makers, book-folders and stitchers, cap makers, straw workers, dress makers, crimpers, fringe and lace makers, &c.

The following preamble and resolutions were agreed to:

Whereas, the young women attached to the different trades in the city of New York, having toiled a long time for a remuneration totally inadequate for the maintenance of life, and feeling the truth of the Gospel assertion, that "the laborer is worthy of his hire," have determined to take upon themselves the task of asserting their rights against unjust and mercenary employers. It must be remembered by those to whom we address ourselves, that our object is not extortion; our desire, not to reap advan-

tages which will be denied to our employers. The boon we ask is founded upon right, alone! The high prices demanded by tradesmen for their goods renders them amply able to advance wages to a standard, which, while it obviates the present cause of complaint, will render laborers only the more cheerful at their work, and still more earnest and willing to serve their employers. The scarcity of employment, and the low rates of pay which have so long prevailed, have, undoubtedly driven many virtuous females to courses which might, otherwise, have been avoided. Many of the female operatives of this city have families dependent upon their exertions; aged fathers and mothers—young brothers—helpless sisters, who, but for their exertions, must inevitably starve, or betake themselves to that scarcely less horrible alternative—the poor house! Such a picture is enough to bestir the most inert to active exertion; the love of life is a passion inherent in us all, and we feel persuaded that we need no better excuse for the movement to which the glaring injustice of our employers has driven us! Therefore,

RESOLVED, that in order to carry out the views expressed in the preamble, and to raise the requisite funds for the assistance of those whose situations render such assistance necessary, that we thankfully accept the kind offer of Signor Palmo, of his Opera House for a benefit, to take place on (this) Friday, March 7th, and it is hoped that all those who may feel an interest in our proceedings will show their approval of our measures by attending the same.

RESOLVED, that an address be prepared by a committee, presenting our wrongs to the public in their true and proper light, and advising such measures as may be best calculated to remedy them.

RESOLVED, that we now adjourn, to meet again on Friday, the 14th inst. at 4 p.m., at this place, to hear the above mentioned address, and to listen to other matters which may in any way interest the Association.

ELIZABETH GRAY, President.
MARY GRAHAM, Secretary.

(2) Factory Women.
Voice of Industry, May 15, 1846.

. . . Some two months since, a plan was proposed by the Massachusetts Corporation, to have the weavers tend four looms and reduce the wages one cent on a piece. Some of their number thought as a protection had been given to industry, that their employers had not applied, they would take the liberty to see to the matter themselves.

A meeting was called and a President and Secretary appointed to carry out the proposed measure of "protective industry." Next in order, a Committee of three was appointed to draw up a pledge, it was presented and unanimously adopted. It read as follows:

In view of the rapid increase of labor without a corresponding remuneration, therefore, we, the weavers of No. 2, Massachusetts Corporation, resolve, that we will not allow ourselves to be physically taxed again, to add to the already overflowing coffers of our employers,— that we will not work under the proposed reduction, embracing a fourth loom and receive a cent less per piece.

RESOLVED, that we will not tend a fourth loom, (except to oblige each other) unless we receive the same pay per piece as on three, and that we will use our influence to prevent others from pursuing a course which has always had a tendency to reduce our wages.

This we most solemnly pledge ourselves to observe, in evidence of which, we hereunto affix our names.

RESOLVED, that any one giving her name, and violating this pledge, shall be published in the *Voice of Industry*, as a traitor, and receive the scorn and reproach of her associates.

It has the signature of every, or nearly every job weaver on the corporation, and has been kept inviolate. . .

(f) SHOEMAKERS

(1) Lynn Cordwainers' Society.
The *Awl*, July 17, 1844.

THE OBJECT of the Mutual Benefit Society of Journeymen Cordwainers of Lynn.

What do they intend to do? The design of this article is to answer the above stated question, which has frequently been asked. But, in the first place, we shall state what we do not intend to do. 1. We shall not declare war with, not attempt to injure, our employers. 2. We are not yet ready to demand the proposed prices for our labor, for we are not as yet prepared for such a movement. It must be apparent to all, that if we could obtain our prices to-morrow, the benefit resulting therefrom would be very effervescent; for, as soon as publicity was given to the fact, that Lynn jours had obtained the prices they demand for their work, if it be more than journeymen are receiving in some other portions of our manufacturing communities, they, of course, or many of them, would pack their kit, and wend their way to Lynn; and this town would be over-run with workmen; and the result would be, a tremendous cut, perhaps lower, if possible, than we were before we commenced this movement. Thus far in relation to what we wish not to do. Now to the question. What they intend to do.

1. We propose to hold a convention of cordwainers in this place, two weeks from next Thursday. And prior to that time, the visiting committee which has been

chosen from this society, are to go to all the towns in this region at least, and recommend the forming of societies, and also to induce the jours in each town where they manufacture ladies' shoes to send delegates to this convention, of which one object is to take preparatory measures, for a proposed New England convention of mechanics, which we presume will be held in Boston. There we expect to meet delegates from every manufacturing town in this part of our country; and the shoemakers intend to hold one session at least by themselves, at which time we shall agree to have a uniformity of prices so fixed, that a journeyman can do as well in one town as in another; and likewise to designate some day when every journeyman cordwainer in this part of the country, as far south at least as Philadelphia, shall march up to his boss and demand a just, and fair compensation for his labor. This is one thing at least, that they intend to do. And can any reasonable man doubt our success, after such measures are matured? We think not. And it is plain to us that this will not injure our employers in the least; for this being a general thing throughout the largest portion of our manufacturing country, our employers can put such prices to their shoes, as will secure them as much profits at least as they now receive.

2. This society intends to do away, if possible, with that injurious practice of taking apprentices for a few weeks or months, and learning them to make one kind of a shoe, or what is called a shoe, and thereby multiplying poor workmen, and filling our market with miserable goods.

3. We intend to raise the character of our town, by doing our work more faithfully.

4. We wish to raise the standard of self respect. Is it not a positive truth, that the farmer, the laboring man, and the mechanic, is looked down upon as though they

were some grades lower than their employers? This no one can doubt. Now, we contend, that if any class of men are worthy of respect, it is those who produce something by which the world is made better. This society intends, therefore, to respect our employers, but no more than every other man – and ourselves likewise.

These, and many other things, the members of this society intend to do. We will here state, that we are ready to answer any question respectfully submitted to us, in relation to our intentions; for our cause is just, and we do not wish to carry it on by secret combinations; but we come to the light that our deeds may be made manifest. And may the God of light, of truth, and justice, aid us onward in our cause!

(2) Attempt to Equalize Competition.

The *Awl*, July 17, 1844. "Circular, issued by the Journeymen Cordwainers of Lynn."

GENTLEMEN – We, your brother craftsmen of the town of Lynn, have suffered much penury and privation for several years past, in consequence of the very inadequate manner in which we have been paid for our labor. We have been and are yet cursed with that most detestable of all other systems that can grow into use in any manufacturing town – to wit, the order system. The known tendency of this is, to rob our families of support, our children of the benefits of the higher branches of education, and ourselves of many of the comforts of life; whilst on the other hand, it enriches our employers and the dealers in our wants, creates distinctions, anti-republican in their character, which assimilate very nearly to those that exist between the aristocracy and the laboring classes of Europe. It is the offspring of a careful, wilful, and deliberate action of the mind, a production of the colossal talent of a well educated, and, of course, humane, benevolent, and philanthropic moneyed aristoc-

racy, to degrade, freeze, and starve the poor—a system studied with particular care, plan after plan relinquished for the still later patented one, until it has been reduced to a mathematical certainty that none are genuine, or answers the heartfelt desires of its authors, if the laboring man can pay his debts, maintain his family, educate his children, and provide for the evening of life.

We, therefore, believing forbearance no longer a virtue, have awoke from our lethargy, to a full sense of our condition, and have formed ourselves into a society, and have firmly resolved to seek by all honorable means in this associated state, the final abolition of these innovations upon our rights.

But, gentlemen, we are aware, that whatever may be the character of our grievances, or the means we employ to redress them, unless there is unity of action throughout the manufacturing districts, our zeal and energy to elevate our condition, as a class must prove partially if not wholly abortive.

If this be true, and we believe it is, how important, then, both for you and ourselves, that we should all be united in this great and worthy work. We ask of you, then, as men, supposing you, as a mass, to be similarly circumstanced, to act in union and harmony with us, by forming yourselves into societies, either auxiliary to or independent of ours, as in the judgment of your several associated conditions will best promote the oneness of those interests common to us all. The necessity of this union will appear the more apparent, when you reflect upon the fact that our employers will not comply with our terms, however reasonable they may be, if they can procure labor at a less rate elsewhere. . . .

In our opinion, there is no substantial reason why we should not be better paid for our labor; and we can if we will but do our duty, which is to make a better article,

and thereby induce the manufacturers to draw a sufficient price from the purchasers to indemnify them for so doing. Our country is now at peace with all nations, free from famine and pestilence, the moneyed institutions in good condition, the harvests have been abundant, the people industrious, and yet we are ground down and oppressed. . . .

We, therefore, the undersigned, in consideration of the above facts, do recommend that a convention be holden as soon as may be, in Lynn, or some other suitable place in this county, that we may act together for the common good. And we would request of all the members of the craft to whom these presents may come, that they will take action upon the same, that we may govern ourselves accordingly.

WALTER SHERROD, WILLIAM A. FRASER,
ALBERT C. HILL, CALEB H. ALDEN–

In behalf of the Mutual Benefit Society of Journeymen Cordwainers of Lynn.

Lynn, July 4th, 1844.

(g) HANDLOOM WEAVERS–A DECAYING HANDICRAFT

(1) Complaints of the Weavers.

Young America, Jan. 3, 1846; quoted from the *True Sun*.

The Hand Loom Weavers of the city, in a communication in another column, complain loudly of the state of depression to which they are crushed by the illiberality of employers; and from what we had yesterday an opportunity of seeing and hearing in regard to their present pitiful condition, we are constrained to express our surprise that the voice of complaint had not before been publicly heard from them. It is hardly credible that such inexcusable oppression of the necessitous and helpless weavers, by their employers, could have existed so long, and have been constantly increasing in its severity,

without having long ago attracted public attention, and excited public indignation. We learn from them that, a system of curtailment of wages has been prosecuted upon the dependent workmen, by which they have been reduced to a state of abject misery and suffering. No longer ago than some three years, they were enabled, by ceaseless labor at their looms, to realize from $4.25 to $4.75 per week—but to so low a rate of pay have the employers reduced them, that the same degree of laborious application will not now yield them above $2.50 per week! Is not this monstrous? The broken down, haggard, and toil-worn appearance of the men, bears faithful witness to the severity and unceasingness of their labors, while the squalid poverty which surrounds their miserable homes, their ragged, haggard-looking wives and children, are enough to move the stones themselves to raise their voices against the heartless oppression which produces such human suffering of thousands, that the sweet morsels rolled under the pampered tongues of the few, may be yet more honeyed.

What the proceedings were to which the weavers refer in their card, we cannot say, unless it be their assemblage for the purpose of consultation upon their deplorable condition and its causes, and of devising some measures of relief. We understand that in pursuit of these means, they have called upon the master weavers of the city and petitioned them for a slight relaxation of the "screws" which have been for the past three years gradually tightening upon and crushing them. We saw a list of the names of employers who had given a favorable ear to their petition, and learned that they had unanimously, with but one exception, agreed to make an increase of the present wages. This exception is an employer, who not only refuses to concede a single additional farthing to the workmen, but threatens, in case

of refusal on the part of those now employed by him, to continue to work for the beggarly pittance he now (grudgingly, no doubt) pays them, he will fill their places with others who will work for less. We advise him to take better counsel and show himself better deserving of the space on earth which God in his infinite charity has granted him.

That the reader may judge for himself of the justness of the complaints of this class of our hard working operatives, and how they have shared in the general prosperity in every department of mechanical and other business, which has distinguished the past six or eight years, we annex the following table, exhibiting the prices paid for their labor from 1836 to the present time. The reduction here exhibited, runs proportionably through all descriptions of "White work;" and all that is now asked by these oppressed men is a mere addition of half a cent on crown linings and mosquito netting, and one cent on all sorts of check work.

The first table exhibits the reduction on check fabrics:

RECEIVED CHECKS	1836	1840	1845
700 . . .	$.07	$.05½	$.03½
800 . . .	.08	.06	.04
900 . . .	.10	.06½	.05
1000 . . .	.11½	.09½	.06

The following exhibits the prices paid for book muslin and crown linings, coming under the denomination of white work:

RECEIVED CHECKS	1836	1840	1845
900 . . .	$.13½	$.10	$.07
800 . . .	.11¼	.09	.06
700 . . .	.09½	.07¼	.04½
600 . . .	.07	.06	.04
500 . . .	.06¾	.04½	.02½
400 . . .	.05½	.04	.02

(2) Organization.

Voice of Industry, Sept. 18, 1846; quoted from *Young America*. Proceedings of the Carpet-weavers' Convention.

Agreeable to previous arrangement the Delegates from the several Factories throughout the United States, met on Tuesday at Tammany Hall, at 2 o'clock, p.m. The meeting appointed Joseph Scott, Tariffville, President; John McNair, Haverstraw, Secretary, and John Hallis, Tariffville, Assistant Secretary.

Thirty-four delegates made their reports from thirty-one Factories, constituting a representation of one thousand and ninety-nine Operatives.

The following gentlemen were elected a Committee of Arrangements: George Sharp, Saxonville; John Jamieson, Yonkers; George Naylor, Danvers; David Stow, Haverstraw; Robert McCrone, Thompsonville. Also, as Committee of Ways and Means: Ambrose H. Lincoln, Lowell; David Thompson, Greenville; John Dixon, Tariffville. After arranging these preliminaries it was resolved that this convention be open for all reporters for the press. Adjourned to Wednesday at 9 o'clock.

On Wednesday morning the committee of arrangements submitted the following resolutions, which, after several of the delegates had spoken upon them, were unanimously adopted one by one.

1. RESOLVED, that this Convention consider the present attempt to reduce the prices of carpet weaving unneccessary and unjust, seeing the Tariff (the declared cause of this attempt) does not come into operation for three months; nor can we believe that its actual operation would justify the attempt.

2. That knowing from experience that our present wages are no more than remunerative, and only sufficient to afford us a tolerable subsistence, we cannot admit the propriety of a reduction of our present prices.

3. RESOLVED, that the reduction of wages has never been a permanent advantage to employers, for when they cannot obtain a sufficient price in the market, the just and proper remedy is to withhold the supply until the demand causes a return to remunerative prices.

4. That this Convention look upon the present proposal to reduce wages as ruinous, and that it is their duty to resist by every legal means the carrying into effect such a proposal. . .

(3) "A Constitution for the Regulation of the Carpet Trade." *Weekly Tribune*, Sept. 12, 1846.

The objects of this Constitution are to institute a general and proper understanding among the different factories of the Union, in order to support the interests of all concerned, and also for the purpose of securing the aid of the whole body employed in the Carpet Trade, against any inroad that may be made on a part of the operatives by any unprincipled employer, and for protecting the Carpet-weaving Trade from the abuses of unprincipled operatives.

Section 1. That a Convention of Delegates meet annually in New-York on the first Tuesday of September, to concentrate the views of the Trade as to the best means of supporting its interests.

Section 2. That the Delegates shall be elected in the proportion of one for every fifty looms, but a factory consisting of a fewer number may send a Delegate, but he shall only vote according to the number of looms he represents. It will, however, be allowed for small factories to unite in sending a Delegate, so as to make the representation as equal as possible.

Section 3. That every loom shall be equally taxed to defray the expenses of Delegates to and from the place of meeting, and whatever general expenses may be incurred during the sitting of the Convention.

Section 4. That if any factory or body of operatives be laboring under a grievance, they shall write to each factory for advice, and if two-thirds of the whole Trade, the number aggrieved included, approve and advise that they shall make a demand upon their employers for redress, it will then be proper for them to use all means in their power to obtain their rights.

Section 5. When the operatives of a factory have a grievance, they shall communicate with all the factories in the trade, and after receiving returns from these factories and finding that two-thirds of the trade warrant them to use stringent measures, it shall be the duty of the officers of the shop to give a statement of the number of married and single men, and it shall also be the duty of the officers to make a calculation of the looms in the Trade, and give a statement to each factory of the amount of levy to be made on each loom.

Section 6. That all persons in the Carpet Trade who may have acted contrary to the interests of the trade at certain times, that is, in taking looms at the time of a contest with the capitalist and operative, and any other offense that may have been detrimental to the interests of the trade, we do hereby, for the sake of good order, forgive and absolve all such persons, if any such there be, up to this date, the 28th of August, 1846.

Section 7. That persons wishing to become operatives in the Carpet Trade, shall pay the sum of ten dollars, but a weaver's son shall only pay five dollars, as initiation fee, before they can be admitted as operatives into the Trade. Any operative assisting or giving instructions to any one that has not settled his initiation fee, shall be liable to a fine of no less than ten dollars.

Section 8. That the operatives of every shop, shall manage their own funds; but no initiation money shall

be applied to any other purpose than the general good of the Trade.

Section 9. That in case of a struggle with any portion of Carpet Operatives and a Capitalist, every loom in operation in the Trade, shall be equally taxed to support the operatives in the contest. The tax to be levied according to the number engaged in the struggle; say each married man shall be allowed $3 per week, and each single man $2 per week.

Section 10. That if any body of Operatives be drove to the extreme measure of making a stand; if any person or persons shall step in betwixt the employer and operatives, and take a loom or looms, he or they shall upon no condition be admitted into the Trade, and if any operative in the time of a struggle, shall fall in with an employer and turn against the interests of his fellow-workmen, he shall be expelled the Trade. And it shall be the duty of the operatives in a struggle with an employer, to give the names to each Factory of any who may violate any section of the law, and each Factory shall record the names of the offenders.

Section 11. That when any operative leaves a Factory, he shall receive a certificate from the President or Committee to present to the President or Committee of the Factory he goes to.

Section 12. That all the Carpet Factories in the United States shall be served with copies of this Constitution. And the President of each shop, along with the Committee, shall be the executive, and it shall be their duty to see the law duly executed. . . .

2. MASTERS' AND JOURNEYMEN'S ORGANIZATION – MECHANICS' MUTUAL PROTECTION

(a) THE COMMON MENACE – PRISON LABOR

New York *State Mechanic*, Jan. 7, 1843, p. 53.

The legislature of the state commenced its session last Tuesday, and already the mechanics begin to look for some decisive action upon the state prison labor question. In this they are right. The subject is one of paramount importance, and under the circumstances of the case, no other should be allowed to take precedence of it, or interfere with its full consideration. We speak but the sentiments of the whole body of the mechanics of the state when we say, thus much is demanded in justice and right of our legislature, this winter. The shuffling and evasive policy that has characterized the movements of that body at every session for the last ten years, in relation of this matter, we trust, is not to be repeated – and we most sincerely hope that for once this subject will receive that attention to which, from its importance as affecting not only the interests but the standing in society of a large and useful class of our citizens, it is justly entitled. . .

A glance at the legislative history of the prison question would but confirm what we have stated, and, did time and space allow, it would be interesting to take a retrospective view of the action thereon, for the past ten years. But, as this is not practicable, under the circumstances, it may be well to review the precise state of the question as it stood at the adjournment of the last winter session of the legislature, and as it now stands. It is well

known that in the early part of the last session a report was presented, from the committee on state prisons, in relation to the subject, together with a bill, of the provisions of which our readers are not ignorant. This bill was the third introduced in the house, but, notwithstanding its priority, it was postponed upon one pretence or the other, from time to time, until within ten days of the close of the session. It was then impossible, "of course," to act upon the question at all, for precipitancy in matters of such grave importance was an evil of which our sage legislators possessed a "terrible dread." After a deal of conversation, to no purpose, the bill was lost, and that too by the evasion of men who had pledged themselves to the mechanics, before election. Under the circumstances, another bill was got up, as the best thing attainable, and the mouth-stopping law of 1835, with certain penal enactments affixed, (to compel the officers of the state to obey the laws of the state) was adopted by the house, "to take effect immediately." This bill also provided for the appointment of a commissioner to inquire into the propriety and expediency of employing convicts in the mines, and to report to the next (the present) legislature. The vote was 76 to 24. After passing the house it went to the senate, and sundry amendments were proposed, in which the house refused to concur. A committee of conference was appointed, and, after this consultation, the bill passed—amended, however, so as to take effect the 1st of May, 1843—after the session of another legislature!—instead of immediately.

This law, as we remarked at the time, saving the promise that it held out of something decisive this winter, amounted to just nothing at all, and after events have shown us that we were correct.

The commissioner whose appointment was provided

for in the bill has been appointed, and his report, we trust, will be speedily presented. Thus stands the matter, as far as the legislature is concerned.

At a convention of the mechanics themselves, held last summer, in this city, the subject was fully discussed, and the convention, without admitting that it was their duty to recommend the adoption of any plan of employing the convicts, or of taking upon themselves the responsibility of recommending any new measure, nevertheless coincided in opinion with the members of the legislature who had proposed the commission, that the contemplated plan would meet the ends desired, and furnish employment for the convicts, at the same time that it relieved the mechanics. Upon this point, however, in order to avoid misapprehension, it may be well to add, that, as a body, the mechanics do not consider themselves called upon to answer the question put to them so often, when speaking on this subject, "what will you do with them (the convicts)?" They do not consider themselves bound to propose a remedy. They themselves are the sufferers. It is the duty of the state, which imposed the unjust burthen, to take it off; and thus much is demanded by the mechanics. . . There are other arguments [against convict labor] of equal weight, which might be adduced if necessary. The monopolizing character given to prison contracts, and to which the spirit of a free government is deadly hostile, to say nothing of the moral effect upon the mechanics as a class, of having the reproach law-fastened upon them, of embracing in their ranks every convicted felon in society.

Thus stands the question, both as regards the legislature and the mechanics; and the latter, this winter, have a right to expect that something definite and conclusive shall be adopted, so that, as a class, they may receive from

the government what every individual, however humble, has a right to expect—strict justice. . .

(b) OBJECTS OF THE ORDER

Mechanic's Mirror, Aug., 1846, p. 197; quoted from the *South Western Mechanic* (Nashville, Tenn.).

. . . The Mechanics' Mutual Protections, are associations instituted for the purpose of accomplishing these objects—or rather this grand object—"the elevation of the mechanic to his true position in society." It is not a union of journeymen mechanics for the purpose of forcing employers into the payment of such wages as the journeymen may demand, but by education and a cultivation of the arts and sciences, we have the object in view, to get such wages as will enable the mechanic with prudence, temperance, economy and industry, to lay up a store for sickness and old age—so that when his arm is no longer able to wield the hammer or the plane, he may be able to walk about with his staff in hand, an example and praise of those who do well. . .

To get as much labor out of the working man as possible, has been and is the only aim of money making capitalists, and to do an easy day's labor, and get as much for it as possible, is too much the aim of journeymen. These two spirits are at war with each other, and are destructive to the interests of both the employer and employed. To enlighten the mind of employer and employed upon this subject, to make them feel (as they are in reality) that their interests are the same, is one of the leading objects of Mechanics' Protections. Some employers and journeymen also, look suspiciously upon our efforts; this is to be expected, but we hope that prejudice will yet give way to truth and sound sense, and that every mechanic in our state will yet be a member of the Protection, and also every employer; so that they may meet

and mingle together for the purpose of mutual benefit and cultivation of the mind. The Protection admits none but practical mechanics into the Brotherhood. Mechanics' associations have been instituted long ago for the purpose of elevating the working man and defending his rights, but nothing essential was ever accomplished by them, for want of persevering effort, from the fact that persons were admitted members who had no interest in the welfare of the cause, but whose interests being established on wrong, would have suffered if the mechanics had been successful; therefore crafty and designing men became members for the purpose of creating jealousy and sowing discord. No class of men can now be one of us, who are not of us—this is the fragrant breeze which like sacred incense shall keep pure the atmosphere in which we breathe. We have also political evils to complain of and war against. The state prison labor system, in our state, is a burden imposed on our mechanics by our Legislature, whereby convicts and criminals are not made to compete with honest mechanics; but a system established by law for the purpose of dragging down mechanics to work for thirty and forty cents per day—this being about the rate paid for convicts' labor. This is an evil in state policy, borne alone by the mechanics, for the benefit of others; but it is an evil which shall yet hurl those from place and power who have been its advocates and upholders; and when facts shall be brought to light and concentrated action taken on the subject, those who have fattened and rioted on this system, which has been preying upon the mechanics' vital interests, shall be covered with obloquy and scorn. To abolish this system entirely, and for mechanics to obtain their just rights in all things, they have but to be united, to understand their true interests, know

their power and wield it. There are 125,000 mechanics in the Empire State, and if they were united upon any one thing, what could resist their strength? There is no evil that they need complain of politically – it is their own fault if such an evil exists. The Protections have a true insight into this mighty power, and for three years they have been silently but steadily increasing in numbers and power. Our motto is, intelligence; we know that we cannot do anything right if done by mere force – we are foes to ignorance warring against evils – against no class and no men but evil doers. . . .

From the action of the New York legislature, our southern and southwest brethren may be led to suppose that our state prison labor system has been so reformed that it interferes not with the dignity or interests of the New York mechanics, but you will be surprised to learn that no alteration in the evils of prison labor interference have been the result of all the struggles of our mechanics for freedom and reform. All our efforts have been vain, the statute forbidding the learning of trades to felons is a burlesque on ourselves, for men are elected and re-elected to legislate for us, who, like Peter Dow, have a face to God and a face to the devil. These evils will yet cease to exist, but not until the mechanic knows his own power and knows how to wield it – to understand the principles of moral as well as physical force. The Mechanics' Mutual Protection is also a benefit association: we provide for members and visit them in sickness, and allow a certain amount on the decease of a Protector, or a Protector's wife. This simple principle in itself will always keep us together, because it is a principle of mutual association. It is also our object to call out the talent of our members, by inviting them to lecture upon practical and familiar subjects, and thereby

qualify them to occupy a dignified position among their fellowmen, and have more confidence in their own powers, being qualified to reason upon the causes of right and wrong, and to understand the principles which operate in their several callings, not being mere handicraftsmen, but knowing all the principles which govern the manifold operations of mechanical arts. To cultivate the mind and be guided by the pure virtues engraven in the Law of laws, cannot fail to elevate our mechanics to an equality with any of what is called the professions. To accomplish this much to be desired object, all that is wanted, is united and persevering efforts. . .

(c) NEW YORK STATE CONVENTION, 1846

Mechanic's Mirror, July, 1846, pp. 173, 180. The Proceedings, aside from the following resolutions and report, dealt with the rites, ceremonies, and organization of the order.

The committee on Art. 5, on report to lay out work, made the following report:

RESOLVED, that the members of this Convention will in every way discountenance the use of articles manufactured by convict labor; and that we recommend all Protectors to discountenance the use of any article made in Prisons by convicts as a punishment for their crimes. And that we hold that system of criminal jurisprudence in utter abhorrence, which makes the learning and pursuit of any profession or business the punishment for crime, and we pledge ourselves to oppose it in every honorable way in our power, until the Mechanics are relieved from their present unjust competition with felon labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, that it shall be the duty of the delegates of this Convention to bring the subject of State Prison interference before the Sub. Protections, and that they be requested to procure and embody all facts in relation to

Prison labor interference, both as regards the business and morals of Mechanics, and that such facts shall be sent to the G. Secretary. And it shall be the duty of the G. Protector to lay such facts before the G. Convention at its annual meeting, and he shall communicate such facts to all or any of the Sub. Protections, at any time he may deem action by any or all of them upon such subjects necessary. A. DOWNER.

The Report was unanimously adopted. . .

J. Tanner moved that the G. Secretary be empowered to get a number of thousand cards printed, containing our principles, for distribution by the Protectors among Mechanics, the same not to exceed $1.00 per thousand—carried. The committee for the spread of our principles among Mechanics, made the following report:

Your committee, to whom was referred the subject of suggesting a plan for the spread of the principles of the Protection, would respectfully report: That every Protection be strictly requested to establish the system of lecturing on practical subjects by Protectors, so that every Mechanic might bring his practical knowledge to bear upon his own particular occupation, thereby arranging in correct system the scattered items of his practical knowledge, in this manner forming his theory from every day experience, and by this means correcting theories formed from general suppositions, unconfirmed by strict experience; also that every Protector should use all his influence to get all good Mechanics of his acquaintance to become Protectors, and that each Protector now belonging to our Order should at least get one good Mechanic to become a Protector next year. If these suggestions would be carried out (from the rapid increase of Protections lately), we might justly anticipate our numbers to be four times more than they are at

present, at this period in 1847; and also that our principles would be beautifully exhibited in the elevation (of the minds at least) of great numbers of Mechanics throughout our State and the United States of America.

ROBERT MACFARLANE, C. SHULTS, Committee.

(d) GROWTH OF THE MOVEMENT

Address delivered by Robert MacFarlane,[16] before the Mechanics of New York, in the Broadway Tabernacle, June 10th, 1847 (New York, 1847).

The Order of the "Mechanics Mutual Protection," is the result of certain causes, which about five years ago led a few Mechanics in the city of Buffalo, to adopt such measures and forms of organization which now constitute the basis of our sacred Edifice. Since the Corner Stone of our Order was laid, we have through innumerable difficulties established thirty-eight Institutions in this State; seven in Ohio; one in Pennsylvania; one in Wisconsin and three in Michigan, and at the present moment we can safely say, that our Building is as firmly founded, as it is sublime in its design, "like some tall rock on which the sunbeams sleep."

The principles of our Association and the objects we purpose to accomplish, I will endeavor to explain in as brief and prudent a manner as possible.

We believe that the Mechanic and Artist, generally speaking, have never held that just position in Society which their real importance to the civilized world, demands they should, and having taken council as to the cause of this depreciation of our true value, we have come to the settled conviction that a want of sound know-

[16] MacFarlane was a Scotchman who came to this country in 1836 at the age of twenty-one. He was a dyer by trade, but when he settled in Albany he became editor of the New York *State Mechanic*, and later of the *Mechanic's Mirror*. In 1848 he was appointed editor of the *Scientific American*, which post he held for seventeen years. He then returned to his old trade of dyeing. From 1874 until his death in 1883, he lived a retired life in Brooklyn.

ledge among ourselves, has disabled us from exerting that influence upon our destinies and that of the Commonwealth, which otherwise from our numbers, we ought to have done, and which, if we act wisely, we assuredly can.

To acquire this knowledge then, it is our first duty to get good Mechanics into our Order, Men of good heads, if possible, but especially of good hearts; Men who can safely be recommended to any employer as worthy and good Mechanics. Having brought together into one Association men of such a stamp and having bound them together by the most sacred ties, it is our duty to act in the capacity of Reformers. We do not war against wealth; we would not tear down the proud pinnacles which have been erected above us. We are not the levelers of the French Revolution, that would drag down the rich to the miserable condition of too many of ourselves, but with the means at our command and the tools in our hands we would raise our battlements as high as their lofty towers. Ours is an elevating, not a degrading cause, and as such every Mechanic who wishes well for his fellow craftsmen, ought to be found in our ranks.

We believe that a more general knowledge of the sciences governing our respective occupations, would in a great measure give us that advantage over the merely book-learned, which they have too long had over us. But to accomplish this will not be such an easy matter as some suppose, for sound thinking and solid reading are the first steps to this attainment; and sound, close and connected thinking, is not such an easy task. The faculty of revolving a subject over and over in our minds, is an attribute of genius, and it is one which we must cultivate and encourage, if we wish to be successful in the pursuit of our objects. The taste for solid reading too,

so much to be desired especially by our young mechanics, will not be so easily acquired, when we take into consideration how much the public mind is unhinged by a prodigal indulgence in impure and light literature, but sound thinking and solid reading are the very first requirements in teaching us how to act aright for our mutual benefit. "The clear dictates of policy points to knowledge as the polar star by which we should be guided in our course!" With equal knowledge no class can claim preëminence with us in respectability, as none can truly in usefulness, and a knowledge of our means, our mutual relations and the confidence we repose in each other are the very first requisites to that union of interests and union of effort among mechanics, essentially necessary to be successful in accomplishing our objects. I am happy to say that in a great number of instances the Mechanics' Mutual Protection, has exerted a happy influence, in bringing Mechanics to associate together and destroying that rivalry of unjust competition, for which we above every other class have been distinguished. We have fought against each other's interests, while the avaricious speculator gazed quietly on at our struggle, ready to reap the spoils of our warfare.

The means of our information regarding the pay of different branches of mechanical work is exceedingly correct, and our system well regulated, and by this, we can exert an influence in proportion to our numbers, far greater than any other Institution. We can tell at any time, what is paid for wages in this State, and other States; also, how it is paid; store pay or cash, also, the price of board, and the common hours of daily labour.

Our Institution has prospered exceedingly well considering the natural distrust against Mechanics' Associations, arising from the fact, of so many having been for-

merly organized, just as it were, to spring up, fall, and die, but we have struck one blow more by the Mechanics' Mutual, and it is to be hoped that we have learned wisdom from past failures. Hitherto we have scarcely been known, we have marched along in silence and under a cloud, but like Gideon of old, our lights are in our pitchers and we shall yet bear down with the swoop of the falcon, and the victorious shout of a fair remuneration for American mechanical labor, and a ten hour system for American factory operatives. . . .

There are few who are aware of the mighty power of union, and for this reason we should all reflect solidly upon it. . . . One penny per week paid by every Mechanic in this State would amount to $62,400 per annum, a sum which would abolish store pay, and easily bring about the ten hour system, if Mechanics were but united. I instance these things to shew what has been and can be done by Union, in the hope that many good Mechanics, who are not yet of us, but who wish well to the Mechanic, may be constrained to join our ranks, and by their labors and council assist us in the task of mutual elevation. From past experience, we know that we cannot do much until we become strong in numbers and well organized. To attempt to do anything without this strength of organization, would be as quixotic as battling with the winds.

None but practical Mechanics are admitted into our Membership. To Professional men it would be of little benefit, but although exclusively a Mechanics' Order, yet this much I can say regarding our secrecy, that not a word is breathed against any other class, party, or faith. Our forms and ceremonies may not be so imposing and splendid as those of some other bodies but we have the advantage I believe of more simplicity. A Secret So-

ciety above all others is the most powerful for good or evil. When ours become evil it will cease to exist, as it should; but merely because it is a Secret Association, we believe that no reasonable man will find fault with it, any more than he would with the faculty of memory which bids the past scenes of life pass in review before us at will, yet of this strange magic power, in the language of Scripture, we scarce can tell "whither it cometh or whence it goeth." . .

The better education of Apprentices, is also one of our principles. It is a sad truth that our Apprentices have but little time for moral and mental improvement, and it is also more sad to know, that the spare time which they do have, is not generally well spent. It has been a disgrace to the Apprenticeship system, that as far as it regarded education, you would generally find something in the corner of an indenture, about, three months education at some Evening School. In country places Apprentices were too often the footballs of the Family. If sent to an Evening School, they were generally more able to doze than study, or if there were any of the other sex there, a little frolic was preferred to acquiring knowledge. Could it be possible, I would desire to see a time when the schoolboy left not his class at fourteen, a mere tyro, to learn his trade and lose all the education he ever had received; but when in the first year of his apprenticeship, one third of his time was spent at school, in his second, one fourth; in the third, one sixth; and in his fourth, and last, one eighth; and when his apprenticeship was completed, he would come forth a man, educated in mind, regarding physical sciences, religion and philosophy; a man also in practical mechanics. It is a sad truth, that our young Mechanics are more fond of the Play house and Circus, than the Lyceum and Lec-

ture room; and instead of finding them discussing the principles of Machinery betimes; you will hear them talking Othello and Richard, forgetting that a Republican and mountebank are just as great antipodes, as a Mechanic and Knight of the buskin. It would indeed be cheering to look forward to a time when our young Mechanics would be pursuing a judicious course of study from the day they entered the work-shop to learn their trades, until strong in physical and mental capacity, the hammerman might be called from the forge to the Senate and when by the might of mind upon any subject, society would totter in regard to all its false distinctions and all would feel the moral force of the ancient maxim, "'Tis worth that makes the man." . .

It is another of our principles to raise the dignity of our callings by honoring labor. Honest Industry is the true wealth of nations. To honor labor we must feel our importance and assume a loftier tone and a higher position in Society, by exhibiting a manly, generous and intellectual independence and direct attention tö the true value of the producers of wealth. We must not forget that the Reformer of Judah labored as a Carpenter, and those whom he chose for his followers were men of toil. We must remember that the gem which glitters on the finger, and the ring which trembles in the ear are the fruits of the Mechanics' skill. We must never forget that the Palace and the Hall, are the fruits of our toil. We must never forget that the glittering carriage and the gorgeous robe, are the fruits of our toil. The walls that are now arched over our heads responding in echoes to your speaker's voice, are triumphant evidences of the Mechanics' skill and toil. Reflect then upon your true value, and honor labor, never forgetting, that

Honor and shame from no condition rise,
Act well your part, there all the honor lies.

It is another of our principles to labor for the reduction of the hours of labor to that limit which will conduce to health, and give time to improve the mind; also, to obtain quietly, and as far as we possibly can, a fair remuneration for our labour, and assist each other to get employment. These objects are truly worthy from their nobility of sentiment, the consideration of every Mechanic. We are the first society of the kind that has incorporated the principle of assisting each other to get employment along with other beneficent objects. As it regards the payment for labor, it is a very delicate subject for me to touch. No course of policy has as yet been adopted by us, that has any relative connection with it, except an honest payment for what is justly due from the employer to the employed, and from the employed to the employer–the just fulfilment of an honest contract; also to do away with that unjust rivalry of laboring men against each other, and to abolish if possible, the secret contract system, which has proved so injurious, to employers above every other class of men. In the City of New-York especially, the Mechanics have suffered much from unjust competition–working for prices by which an American Mechanic cannot live, as a citizen of our Republic should–in comfort, while able to labor, and the fair means for his toil, of being able with prudent economy to give his children a good education, and to lay up something against an evil day–Sickness and Old Age. The happiness of our whole people depends upon the remuneration which our Mechanics receive for their labor and skill, and our freedom reposes on this anchor. Let our Mechanics be nothing but stinted and poverty-smitten, and our farmers could not be paid for their produce, and the channels of trade would soon become dry and exhausted. The perpetuation of our Free Institutions, depends on the remuneration of Industry.

Let our Mechanics—yea, all that labor, be well paid for their toil, and our liberties are safe, though the storms of party should rage like the troubled sea. With a fair remuneration for labor, there will always be a good education in the working classes, and beside, it confers an honor on the working man to be in easy circumstances, which gives him a nobility of soul, and an erect and manly republican independence which cannot but be a blessing to the whole commonwealth, as it is a fulfilment of the divine injunction "the laborer is worthy of his hire"; but deprive the American Mechanic of this, and behold what our children's children may become, when you see a descendant of ancient Rome, wandering with his pipe and tabor through our streets, callous to the selfish position, of piping for a penny or a crust of bread. Therefore brother Mechanics, when we know that poverty crushes and enslaves both soul and body, let us, oh let us strive, quietly, but perseveringly "for a fair remuneration for our toil," by exhibiting the necessity of comfort to the workingman, by informing the rich as well as ourselves, that the safety of all property in a Republic, depends on the virtue, comfort, and good-will of the working classes.

We are also pledged to labor for "a reduction of the hours of labour, to that limit which will conduce to health, and give time to improve the mind." The necessity of the working man, having time to think, as well as time to work, is self-apparent—it is necessary for his health—his moral and physical health. At one period it was considered that the working classes were the most healthy, and longest lived. It was a false doctrine, calculated as by the policy of ignorance, to keep the slave content with his Iron Shackled condition. The excellent system of national health statistics, has developed

the sad truth, that Mechanics are the shortest lived class. Some of the trades are healthy, but on an average the whole Mechanical tradesmen exceed not thirty-five years in longevity. This is a sad feature in our industrial economics, but it is a true one. The Printer, the Hatter, the Tailor, the Dyer, and Shoemaker, live continually in an atmosphere the very opposite of that which would conduce to health, but above all the factory operative. It is well known that most of our factory operatives labor 12 and 13 hours per day, in an unhealthy and confined atmosphere. It is in no manner creditable to the religion and civilization of modern times, that children or adults should labour so long as they do in our factories, for this system is a modern system of labour, and the ten hour system for masons and machinists, and some other trades, has come down to us from the days of old. The factory system has been long rooting out the Anglo Saxon energy of England, and fears of a most serious result to the physical constitution and moral nature of the people, has compelled the Government to arrest the destroying Angel that was hovering over the pent-up walls of Leeds, Manchester, and Glasgow. In our country, the evil is but faintly discerned, because we are young in manufactures, but, Oh! I have seen enough of it to convince me of its future evils, unless we stand between the living and the dead. I have been long and intimately acquainted with the factory system, I visited no less than thirty different factories in various parts of our State and Massachusetts, last winter. I have made it my business to ask the opinions of the Operatives regarding a ten hour instead of a twelve hour system, and without a single exception, I have not met a factory operative whose heart did not glow with animation in the prospect of a ten hour factory reform. There is one thing

however which I regret, viz: a want of action–united co-operation in the factory districts of the State. Energy appears to be lost, or there is some power that deters. I have been sorry to perceive this, but although the factory operatives have not united with us–the Male portion–we must labor for them–all men are our brethren and above all the gentle females want advocates, and the more helpless children want our support and protection. There are hundreds of Children in our factories under twelve years of age, that labor twelve unremitting hours every day,

Feeding the weary turning Mill,
At early morn and evening still,
And as they view the close of day,
Oft' sigh that time would flee away.

The Mechanics' Mutual Protectors are Champions of these helpless beings, and we have instituted a mode of action which will yet carry out triumphantly, American Factory Reform. Ye fathers and mothers who are here, you can give us your prayers, we know that we must have your best wishes. In one place, Waterloo, Seneca County, through the influence of one of our Protections, a ten hour system has been brought about among a number of trades; in other places our moral power will soon be felt. It would be a great source of rejoicing to us, were some large manufacturers to join our ranks and assist us in this reform. The earlier they do so, the better for their fame, for assuredly their hour is at hand. We are not united to co-operate by force, ours is a moral warfare. We believe in the rights of labor, and the rights of capital, and we wish the protection of both. In political economy, labor has not the recognized rights of capital, but it has rights for all that, and if by mutual good will, we can cultivate the right spirit between the employer and employed, the sacred cause is won–we

can then protect each other, we are one individual and harmonious family.

We are opposed to combinations for Wages. Strikes are an imperfect and injurious warfare upon the interests of all classes, and it is a great pity that civilization has only resulted in such strifes, the fault of both employer and employed. We wish to raise a more noble, wise and exalted mode of procedure, when differences arise between the employer and his workmen. From an early age, I have been the stern opponent of Strikes, because I have perhaps, experienced, at least in feeling, much poignant anguish from an act committed against an innocent, near and dear relative, by a combination of workmen for wages. I am therefore, personally, the honest advocate of arbitration for settling disputes between the two classes. I blame employers, at least the more wealthy, as being more the cause of Strikes than the workmen. For with a superior education in them, it has always appeared to me, (and I have seen it acted upon) that a plain, friendly relationship and statement of facts on both sides, would have reconciled both parties, with a little concession by each. I am therefore happy, to belong to an association of men whose principles are reconciliation, not hostility to any class.

Our principles are also to trade with each other, preferring one another – and it is to be hoped that this principle will be carried out in purity, so far as we can do so without injury to ourselves or families.

We inculcate, also, simplicity of habits; and let me say, that when you behold a workman simple in his tastes, intelligent in his conversation, industrious in his habits, and moral in his deportment, you behold a fit representative of a republic. Let those who wish well for the welfare of our country, keep a warm heart to the

Mechanic, and be interested in his comfort, condition, and welfare, and let our Mechanics be zealous for their own interests.

Thus have I briefly scanned the most important features of our Institution, for your inspection, and I hope yet to have your assistance, good Mechanics, who are now here, but who are not yet of us. You perceive our good intentions, and we want the advice and counsel of all the good, to assist us in the task of self reform.

The main good that I expect from the Mechanics' Mutual, is by the old and young associating together and becoming familiarly acquainted throughout a large circle. In some measure, this good has been done already. Our Conventions make us acquainted with one another far and near, and the grand thing to make our Order all that is desirable and beautiful, is only to carry out the grand principle which affiliates our hearts to one another, and which is the corner stone of our Institution, "Love one another." . .

DIRECTORY of Mechanics' Mutual Protections. No. 1, Lockport; 2, Rochester; 3, Utica; 4, Schenectady; 5, New-York; 6, L. Lockport; 7, Brooklyn; 8, ——; 9, Waterloo; 10, Troy; 11, New-York; 12, do.; 13, Batavia; 14, Geneva; 15, S. Troy; 16, Buffalo; 17, Medina; 18, New-York; 19, do.; 20, Frankfort; 21, Albany; 22, do.; 23, ——; 24, Auburn; 25, Buffalo; 26, Ithaca; 27, Canandaigua; 28, New-York; 29, Pen Yan; 30, Syracuse; 31, Watertown; 32, Salina; 33, Little Falls; 34, Lansingburgh; 35, ——; 36, Dansville; 37, New-York; 38, Troy; 39, New-York; 40, Middleport.

3. COÖPERATIVE AND BENEVOLENT TRADE UNIONS, 1845-1851

(a) COÖPERATION

(1) Working Men's Protective Union – Boston.

(i) Coöperation and the Working Men.

Working Man's Advocate, Jan. 11, 1845.

A committee of the Boston Mechanics' and Laborers' Association have published a Report, recommending the formation, in Boston, of a sort of Fourier Association. The Report is signed by S. H. Sanborn, J. M. Eddeys, Benj. Linikin, Arthur Burnham, and John Allen, who compose said committee. . . The Report commences by the following enumeration of existing evils: – ED. of the *Advocate*.

It is our belief that the same causes of evil and suffering are operative in this country, that, in the Old World, are developed to giant magnitude, and are crushing the producers of wealth to the very dust, and that unless a speedy change can be effected in our social condition the time is not far distant when the laborers of the United States will be as dependent, as oppressed, and as wretched, as are their brethren in Europe. Here, as there, the soil, motive power and machinery are monopolized by the idle few; all the sources of wealth, all the instrumentalities of life, and even the right and privilege of industry are taken away from the people. Monopoly has laid its ruthless hands upon labor itself, and forced the sale of the muscles and skill of the toiling many, and under the specious name of "wages" is robbing them of the fruits of their industry. Universal monopoly is the bane of labor not less in America than in Europe. . .

The remedy lies in a radical change of principle and policy. Our isolated position and interests, and our anti-social habits, must be abandoned. The Money-power must be superseded by the Man-power. Universal Monopoly must give place to Societary ownership, occupancy, and use. The right of every human being to the soil whereon, and the tools and machinery wherewith to labor must be established; the right of every man to the productions of his hands must be acknowledged, and the law of God universally applied, "If a man will not work neither shall he eat."

It is the belief of your Committee, that these objects can only be gained by Industrial Association, or union among the laboring classes. The direction and profits of industry must be kept in the hands of the producers. Laborers must own their own shops and factories; work their own stock, sell their own merchandise, and enjoy the fruits of their own toil. Our Lowells must be owned by the artizans who build them, and the operatives who run the machinery and do all the work. And the dividend, instead of being given to the idle parasites of a distant city, should be shared among those who perform the labor. Our Lynns must give the fortunes made by the dealer and employer, to those who use the awl and work the material. Our Cape Anns must exchange their own oil, combine the vast benefits of commerce with their poorly paid navigation, and not pay the rents of so many city stores, nor support in luxury so many city merchants. In other words, all interests must be united, all trades combined, and all branches of usefulness be equally paid. The farmer, manufacturer, the mechanic, and the merchant, must belong to the same Firm, and share the proceeds proportionally to the labor each has contributed. The country's wealth belongs to, and must be given to the country's labor.

As the means of applying this remedy, your committee recommend, that an Industrial Firm of this description shall be immediately established in the city of Boston, and that an effort be put forth by this Association, to induce the industrial classes to combine their skill, and capital, and labor in this undertaking, as the only hope that is now left, of ameliorating their condition, and remedying the evils to which they are exposed. . . .

(ii) Protection against Capital.
Voice of Industry, Nov. 28, 1845.

. . . The success of the Boston "Union" has exceeded the expectations of its warmest friends, and promises fair to accomplish the great objects its framers had in view, viz:

First, a Union of the producing Classes—second; the gradual accumulation of a surplus fund to protect the laborers against encroachments of capital and piratical speculation—third; to encourage useful producing industry, by patronizing the producer instead of the exchanger, thus doing away with monopolies and much of the present useless trade and traffick, which is living and speculating upon the real products of labor. This measure has not originated with visionary enthusiasts, seeking after phantoms, but is the result of the experience and investigation of practical working men, who have carefully and critically observed the operations of the present system of organized monopoly and fraud, and the suicidal competition, which is every where exhausting the strength of industry, and sacrificing its treasures to grasping capital or intrigue and artifice—men who know the evils, the laboring classes suffer under, from some degree of experimental knowledge, and therefore are better prepared to meet the wants of their fellow laborers than mere theorists. . . .

The first great desideratum then, is union—a union

among the now divided and confounded sons and daughters of industry is of absolute moment to the toilers of the present age! What cannot be accomplished by union? With the present light and knowledge in the community, the noble strugglings of humanity's divine pulsations, which are everywhere manifesting themselves for some state of society more congenial, rational and humane; what holy aims might not the useful producers of our country realize, if they would be united! In view of the alarming increase of monopoly, wrong, poverty and misery in the country and the consequent development of vice and crime, will not the workingmen and women of New England be induced to adopt some such course of united action as suggested by the Boston "Protective Union" and the "Industrial Convention" at New York. Under an organization of this character, such a fund would accrue in a few years, as to enable the workingmen and women to buy all the articles for consumption at wholesale prices and directly of the producer, instead of paying such large profits as they are now obliged, to support the horde of useless exchangers and speculators who are living upon, and monopolizing the products of industry. Could this become general, it would be a blessing of no small importance to the laboring classes, when we take into consideration the vast numbers that are subsisting, perhaps in luxury and affluence upon that which they never produced. So long as this state of things exists, and continues to augment, the producer will be taxed and oppressed to support and gratify the almost numberless interlopers, who stand between them and the consumer and who occupy every avenue of industry, that they may clutch the fruits of honest toil as soon as they look red with value, or can administer to their selfish aggrandizement. . . This

unjust and unnatural state of things, the "Protective Union" is instituted to remedy, by preventing speculation in the necessaries of life, and by creating a fund by which our workingmen and women may become, to a great degree, their own employers and disposers of the products of their own labor. . .

(iii) Constitution of the Working Men's Protective Union. *Voice of Industry*, Nov. 28, 1845.

Whereas there are many of our fellow workingmen, who have so small an equivalent returned them for their toil – although laboring excessively, to the deterioration of health as well as to the neglect of the intellect – that in very many cases, no surplus remains after the purchase of the necessaries of life; hence indigence, and in the event of sickness, not only destitution, but without that kindness and sympathetic attention to which their case lays claim, whereas, many evils arise from the isolated way in which the laborer, as a man of small means, has to purchase the necessaries of life; therefore, to unite the little fund of the producers, and purchase in season, as do the wealthy class, their fuel and groceries, would, it is obvious, secure to the brothers a larger share of their products than otherwise can be, and, whereas, we most firmly believe it is the imperative duty we owe one another and ourselves, to give all the information in our power to the procurance of sure, steady and profitable employment, that we may have deeds of genuine sympathy, which not only manifest themselves in relieving the destitute, administering to the sick, but those which strike at the root of poverty; such as will secure good pay and fewer hours of labor, and thereby in no ordinary degree remove the cause of poverty and sickness. Therefore, for the better securing of these principles and the obviation of the forementioned ills, we resolve ourselves

into an Association, and agree to be governed by the following Rules and Regulations:

ARTICLE I. This Institution shall be called the Workingmen's Protective Union.

ARTICLE II. Divisions how formed. Any number of persons, not less than fifteen constitutionally qualified, who shall combine together and agree to be governed by this Constitution may form a Division of the Union, and when organized, the Division shall immediately notify the First Division of the fact, giving the names of the President and Secretary of the new Division. Upon receiving this information the First shall designate the number of the new Division, and notify all other Divisions of its admission into the Union.

ARTICLE III. Associations composing the Union shall be termed Divisions; and be numbered in the order in which they adopt the Constitution.

ARTICLE IV. Officers. The officers of each Division of this Institution shall consist of a President, Vice President, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, Steward, Treasurer, a Board of Commerce, consisting of five and a Visiting Committee of five; they together shall constitute the Government of the Society, who shall be elected annually by ballot, on separate tickets.

ARTICLE V. Duty of the President. . .

ARTICLE VI. Vice President. . .

ARTICLE VII. Duty of the Recording Secretary. . .

ARTICLE VIII. Duty of the Corresponding Secretary. . .

ARTICLE IX. Duty of the Steward. It shall be the duty of the Steward to keep a register of each member's name, age, occupation, and place of residence; to collect all money due the Division, and not hold it longer than one week at a time, but shall pay it to the Treasurer and take a receipt for the same. On a member's neglect-

ing to pay his assessments after the lapse of two months, he shall notify the delinquent in a written communication; should he further neglect, the Steward shall erase the delinquent's name from the roll of the Division in one month after the issuing of his notification, and shall immediately notify all other Divisions of the fact; and he shall monthly report to the Division what money has been received and what may be due the Division.

ARTICLE X. Duty of the Treasurer. . .

ARTICLE XI. Duty of the Board of Commerce. It shall be the duty of the Board of Commerce to transact all mercantile affairs of the Division. They shall introduce all new members to the Division in the most social manner, who have complied with the requisitions of the Constitution; and shall audit the Records, Accounts, and Bills of the Secretary, Steward and Treasurer, and make a report of the same at least once in three months, and a summary of a report at the expiration of the year. All bills must be signed by at least two of them, before being paid, and at intervals of the Division's meetings they shall have such a general inspection of its affairs, as its interests may demand.

ARTICLE XII. Duty of the Visiting Committee. The duty of the Visiting Committee shall be to visit those members who are said to be sick, within twenty-four hours of the reception of the intelligence; to report to the Division without delay the brother who is sick, and subsequent to the Division's examining into the sick member's claims, shall pay to the sick member his benefit as the Division shall direct, and let no means whatever be unexerted that may tend in the slightest to alleviate the brother's sufferings. Finally, it shall be their duty to report to the Division their doings once a quarter, and a summary of a report once a year.

ARTICLE XIII. Eligibility to Membership. When any

person of good moral character, capable of earning a livelihood, or with some visible means of support, and who does not use intoxicating drinks as a beverage, and who possesses such other qualifications as the Divisions may deem proper, signifies a wish to join the Division, in writing, or through some member with whom he is personally acquainted, it shall be the duty of the presiding officer to propose him and appoint a committee of three to ascertain whether he is in every respect worthy of membership, who shall report at a following meeting. Should the report be favorable to his admission, he shall be balloted for, and upon receiving two-thirds of all the votes cast, and signing the Constitution, paying an initiation fee of Three Dollars shall receive a certificate of membership from the Secretary, which shall guarantee to him all the rights and privileges of the Division. When a member wishes to withdraw from his Division, if he has performed his Constitutional obligations, he shall receive from the Secretary of his Division a certificate of honorable discharge from the same.

ARTICLE XIV. Admission Fee and Assessment. Each member shall pay into the Treasury the sum of Three Dollars as Initiation fee, and be subject to a monthly assessment of twenty-five cents, which shall be paid at the regular meetings of the Division.

ARTICLE XV. Funds and Objects. The money received as Initiation fee shall constitute a standing fund, three fifths of which may be invested in fuel and groceries, or such other objects as the Division may deem best. The money arising from the assessments, interest on the standing fund, and donations, shall constitute a general fund, which shall be devoted to the use of sick members – or any others should there not be a dissenting vote – or those past labor, as described in Article XX, and for the general expenses of the Division.

ARTICLE XVI. Finance. In the ratio that the funds arise to hundreds of dollars it shall be the duty of the Treasurer to make known the fact to the Division, when a member shall be appointed to deposit each hundred in his own name, which member shall give a written acknowledgment of the same to the Treasurer, and the acknowledgment, with the Bank Book shall be kept by the Treasurer, subject to the order of the Division. This fund shall not be drawn upon except by vote of the Division, and an order to be valid must be signed by the President and Recording Secretary.

ARTICLE XVII. Benefits. Each member's name shall be enrolled upon the Division's list six months before he becomes entitled to its Benefits. At the expiration of that time, having conformed to the requisitions of the Constitution, he shall receive Three Dollars per week in case of sickness, provided that he has no constitutional infirmity of long standing when admitted to membership, or afterwards, by debauchery or licentiousness, in which cases he shall forfeit his Benefits and be expelled from the Division.

ARTICLE XVIII. The Course to be pursued on a Member's being sick. Any individual of the Division becoming sick, shall notify either member of the Government, and from that date he shall be entitled to his Benefits, provided he is a suitable subject. No member shall receive a Benefit for a shorter time than one week, or longer time than thirteen. Should a member be taken sick at a distance from his Division, he shall notify some one member of the Board of Government, within fourteen days after the first appearance of the disability. And should there be a Division in the place where he is taken sick, he shall, upon proving his constitutional claim to Benefits have a right to call upon such Division for aid, the amount of which benefits shall be refunded to such

Division by the Division of which he is a member, upon their presenting and proving their claim.

ARTICLE XIX. Forfeiture of Privileges. Any member omitting to pay his assessment for three months, shall forfeit all Benefits of the Division, unless it is proved not to have been caused by carelessness or willful neglect.

ARTICLE XX. Pensions. When a member arrives at the age of sixty-five years, who having been a member at least ten of them, he shall receive a pension of one dollar and fifty cents a week.

ARTICLE XXI. Money obtained by false pretenses. Whoever shall procure money by misrepresenting the length of time sick, shall, by a vote of the Division, be expelled.

ARTICLE XXII. Place of Residence. It will be the duty of any member on changing his place of residence, to make it known to the Steward.

ARTICLE XXIII. Quorum. The meeting shall be called to order ten minutes after the expiration of the time appointed, provided a quorum be present. Seven members shall constitute a quorum.

ARTICLE XXIV. Adjustment of Differences. . .

(iv) Report of Board of Trade.
The *Harbinger*, Oct. 28, 1848, p. 204.

The Board of Trade respectfully submit the following Report for the Quarter ending September 30, 1848:

The Board are happy to report that the success and progress towards a concentration of capital, in order to obtain a power in the market, have increased during the present quarter. The competition to obtain the trade, increases exactly in proportion as the capital of the different Divisions is concentrated in one agency, thus lowering the profits on consumable articles. Instances could be cited to prove the correctness of this statement, were it necessary.

The Board have done what they could to bring about the System of Exchanges which we all aim at, by ordering shoes and boots made for Divisions; and in this branch they have been successful, and there is reason to hope that the laborers on this kind of work will be able eventually to exchange their work for other productions at such rates as will better remunerate them for their labor than heretofore.

Some of the Divisions have sent orders for the purchase of manufactured cottons, calicoes, &c., in the Dry Goods line, and we have been able to purchase for them, as far as we have learned, to their satisfaction and advantage.

Hardware and crockery have also been ordered, and these the Board purchase of the first hands. In lamp oil the Board have made some efforts to effect an exchange with the 48th Division, at Nantucket, and have received a few barrels from them, which gave good satisfaction. We then wrote to them and tried to get a price fixed for two or three months, in order that Divisions might lay in a winter stock; but the holders there, anticipating higher prices, this proved impracticable at the present time, and we found that we could do better in Boston.

The Board received 275 barrels of Flour from Mr. Hugh T. Brooks, in the month of July, which were taken up by the different Divisions, and gave general satisfaction. A number of the barrels were weighed, and overrun the usual weight four pounds. We shall expect some more flour from him, and also some cheese, as soon as the wheat market is a little settled. We also expect to receive some cheese from the 26th Division, Winooski Falls, (Vt.,) which we have ordered.

There has been a rise on most goods within the last four or five weeks, and the Board, anticipating the state of the market, used their endeavors to persuade those

Divisions that had the means, to lay in large stocks of sugar, molasses, and black tea, and it is believed that a considerable sum has been saved by those Divisions that availed themselves of the opportunity. Hogshead sugars have advanced ½ ct. per pound. Box sugars, ¼ ct. per pound. East Boston crushed sugar has been kept out of the market two weeks, and is now selling at 8½ cts. per pound. Black teas have advanced at from 5 to 7 cts. per pound. Molasses has advanced 5 cts. per gallon, for such as is in general use. Sumatra coffee has advanced ⅜ cts. per pound. Porto Cabello and Gonaives coffee is a little lower. St. Domingo is a little higher. The continual fluctuations in the market require the most constant vigilance, and one of the most essential services the Board have been able to render the Divisions, is the securing large quantities of goods when they are at the lowest points, and thus having the advantage of the rise. This principle should be carried out by every member of the Union, by laying in all he can of such articles as will keep, when they are at their lowest rates.

The amount of goods purchased for Divisions during the quarter, is thirty-six thousand four hundred dollars.

At the last meeting of the Board of Trade it was resolved, that we recommend to the Supreme Division, that the commissions paid to the Board of Trade for purchasing, be reduced to ¾ per cent.

JOHN G. KAULBACK, JR., Chairman,
No. 5½ Congress Square.
PETER I. BLACKER, Clerk.

(2) New England Protective Union.
(i) Central Division.
Spirit of the Age, Jan. 19, 1850, p. 45.

Boston, Jan., 1850. The government are reminded by the return of the Annual Session of the Central Division,

that it may be proper for them to submit a few remarks, and to congratulate the Union on the continued increase and general prosperity of the Sub-unions.

The Supreme Division of the Working Men's Protective Union was organized in January, 1847. At this time there were only 12 Divisions in the Union. No special efforts were made to propagate the plan of our organization, and yet, as a proof that the plan commended itself to the good sense of the people, when known, we are able to state that in January, 1848, one year from the organization of the Supreme Division, our Sub-divisions numbered as high as 42; and previous to January, 1849, we numbered 64 Sub-divisions. During this period nine of the divisions had either withdrawn from the Union or ceased to exist, from various causes incident to any new enterprise; and we were all astonished as well as gratified at the general steadiness and firm adherence to the principle of Union manifested by the Sub-divisions during the infancy of our Institution.

In January, 1849, an important step was taken in the organization of our body, which we believe has been followed with most happy results. The proper and necessary preliminaries having been taken for a revision and alteration of the Constitution, the good work was happily consummated at the annual session of 1849. We are happy to bear testimony to the adaptation of our present Constitution, after a year's experience under it, to meet the necessities of a body like the New England Protective Union. The change of name, both for the Institution itself and this important and central branch of it, has given us new strength by removing from our path those titles which to many were only stumbling-blocks.

We commenced the year 1849 as the New England

Protective Union, and this body has since been known as the Central Division. The increase of Sub-divisions the past year has exceeded our most ardent expectations. Instructions for the organization of Divisions have already been issued as high as No. 106, besides the filling up of some vacant numbers, made such by the withdrawal or dissolution of the Sub-divisions to whom such Nos. were originally given. The records show the number of such failures to be only five during the past year. If there are others, the Secretary has no official notice of the fact. During these past three years the trade of Sub-divisions through our Central Agent has rapidly increased, until now it appears that there are but few Divisions who do not embrace and improve this channel for their purchases; a fact which shows the well-merited confidence reposed in our trusty agent, and an approval of the Union principles; and we venture to express the hope that the time is not distant when each Division in the Union will consider it for their advantage to help to swell our united capital by adding to it as far as possible the amount of their purchases.

The first Report of the Committee on Trade that we find on our file, was made in January, 1848, for the previous quarter; the amount purchased is stated at $18,748.77. Since that time, the amount purchased through the Central Agent each successive quarter we find to be as follows:

1848	April	.	$24,359.02
	July	.	33,000.00
	Oct.	.	36,400.00
1849	Jany.	.	40,910.24
	April	.	49,601.14
	July	.	60,439.00
	Oct.	.	69,851.22

And to-day we learn from the Committee that the purchases for the past Quarter amount to $102,353.53

This does not look like going backward or dying out, but rather fills us with courage for the future; and we

have reason to thank God to-day for the success of this People's Institution, and to encourage ourselves in the belief, that while our brothers remain true to themselves and to each other, our beneficent Union shall increase and strengthen with each successive year.

The expenses of our Central organization are not necessarily very great, and we trust the provision of our Constitution for meeting these expenses will be cheerfully complied with. The printing of documents, services of a Secretary, use of Hall for meeting, and stationery, constitute the chief objects of expense; and obligations arising from such sources, we have no doubt will be promptly provided for.

There have been received by the Treasurer of the Central Division assessments from Sub-divisions as follows:

During the year 1847 . . .	$ 41.38
" " " 1848 . . .	115.44
" " " 1849 . . .	42.77
Amounting in all to . . .	$199.59

There has been expended by the Treasurer during this time, as appears from approved bills, for the legitimate expenses of the Division $258.74

From which deduct the amount received . . 199.59

And we are indebted to the Treasurer . . $ 59.15

Which must be met from the assessment which shall be levied on Sub-divisions for the current year, and the subject is referred to the attention of the Division. The Government recommend an Assessment to be levied at this Session on each Division now formed, or that shall be organized previous to July next, which shall be sufficient to defray this debt and the probable expenses of the year.

Respectfully submitted for the Government.

A. J. WRIGHT, Secretary.

(ii) Extracts from Reports of Divisions.
Spirit of the Age, Jan. 12, 1850, p. 28.

The Report from a Delegate of Div. 59 says: "I expect soon to forward you more petitions. The cause is gaining ground rapidly in Vermont. The system is the system that is destined to do the mercantile business of the State."

DIVISION 73. "Capital $560. We are expecting our capital increased $100 or $150 in one or two months. Our prospects are very favorable. There is evidently a growing interest in favor of the Union."

DIVISION 3. "About a year ago, Division No. 3 comprised nearly 300 members; a large majority of whom were determined to withdraw from the general 'Union,' vainly supposing that they were not benefited by the Board of Trade, and could trade to better advantage if disconnected from it. The Division had sold their goods at an advance on the prime cost of 8 per cent, and discovered that they had lost money. A minority of the Division, believing that 'union' was the only safe course, withdrew from the location and started another store, retaining their number after the majority had adopted a new style. Fearing that 8 per cent would not pay, the Division voted to put the per centage at 8 to members and 10 to the public, and after nine months, finding the increase of capital to be too speedy, the per centage was reduced to a mere trifle, as it is not the desire of this Division to make money. The profits since last November amount to over $850. The Division voted, that, since adhering to the Union has proved to be the only safe ground, they will give it all the support in their power. This Division supplies the poor of South Boston with the goods at prime cost. So far as the old majority (now known as 'Laborers' Union') is concerned,

the impression is, that their 'tale would soon be told.'"

DIVISION 55. "Division 55 pays for rent of Store and Hall for meetings, $108 per annum; pays storekeeper $700; three Directors and Treasurer $25 each. Amount of sales for the quarter ending August 24th, 1849, $8,265.41. The sales to members are at cost of goods at the store; six per cent advance is charged on goods sold to persons not members; paying all the expenses, and leaving a surplus of $190.50. There are about forty widows and indigent persons trading with the store on the same terms as members."

DIVISION 31. "This Division has been formed something less than two years, and has in every sense exceeded, in point of usefulness, all our expectations. From a sale of $150 per week, we have increased to something over $500 per week, and I doubt whether there is another store in the place that sells near as much. We have probably increased the last three months, over and above our actual expenses, $60."

(3) **Boston Tailors' Associative Union.**

(i) **A Strike and its Result.**

Spirit of the Age, Sept. 29, 1849, p. 187; quoted from the Boston *Chronotype*. (See also chap. v, 3.)

At the request of their Committee, we commence publishing the Preamble and articles of Association just adopted by a portion of the journeymen tailors who have been "on strike." It seems that they really mean to try to do something; that they mean to be their own employers and test the virtue (so far as it can be tested in a single trade) of the divine principle of Association.

Our informant states that about seventy persons have already united in the adoption of these articles, who together have invested $700 in the business, which they are preparing to carry on co-operatively. Fifty dollars, pay-

able at once, or in installments to be deducted from the earliest wages, is the sum required of each associate. Each is to receive wages at the rates for which the tailors struck, and each to have a proportional interest in the annual division of profits.

It is hoped that nearly all, now unemployed, will be induced to enter this association. And it is for their instruction that these persons wish this Constitution, as yet in a crude shape, and before mature revision, to be printed. The main essentials, probably, will not be altered.

J. S. D.

PREAMBLE. Whereas, it has become evident that a fundamental change must take place in our social and industrial relations, and that our competitive society must be re-organized upon the principle of co-operation, before Labor can be protected against the despotic weight of capital: and

Whereas, every effort of working men in Europe or America, to improve and elevate their position in society by "strikes" or "trades' union combinations," has hitherto, after the expenditure of millions of dollars, failed, or at best afforded only temporary relief, while their position was daily becoming more wretched; and

Whereas, while the laboring classes, who are the producers of all wealth, are being reduced to the most abject and degrading position, their employers are daily accumulating immense riches, until at length capital must center in the hands of a few individuals or corporations, and be used with fearful effect in still further depreciating, oppressing and degrading the laborers; and

Whereas, it is clearly impossible for labor to occupy that noble and dignified position which it ought, until the relations of Capital and Labor are changed, by la-

borers becoming their own employers and dividing the profits of their labor among themselves:

Therefore we, whose names are hereunto signed, do hereby form ourselves into a co-operative society, to be called "The Boston Tailors' Associative Union," having for our object, the providing of labor for each other, by the manufacture and sale of clothing of every description, and the purchase and sale of such other articles as are generally sold at clothing establishments. This we propose to do by mutual co-operation and association, by an equitable division of the profits of our labor, and by all measures which may promote union, peace, justice and brotherly love amongst us. . . .

(ii) A Year of Coöperation.

Spirit of the Age, Jan. 19, 1850, pp. 44, 45; quoted from the Boston *Chronotype*.

GENTLEMEN – The Constitution of our infant society requires that on the 1st day of January, in each year, a report of the progress we have made, together with a statement of our position and prospects should be given to you. In accordance with this wise provision, I proceed to give you a full detail.

This society, it will be remembered, was begun during the late memorable strike, at the close of a severe and protracted struggle of fourteen weeks' duration, when the pecuniary means of the members of your trade were necessarily very much exhausted. The consequence was, that many who felt desirous of becoming members, were, for the want of funds prevented doing so, and the amount of stock subscribed for by those who originally became members, was, from the same cause, much less than was at first anticipated. After considerable difficulties and disappointments we at length resolved to commence busi-

ness, even with the very slender capital in our possession, then only $483, and to trust to our own humble efforts and the kindness and sympathy of an indulgent public for success.

On the 21st September, we opened our store at 88 Ann street, with a stock of goods that only served to make the nakedness of our shelves more visible. However, we had a firm faith in the good cause in which we had embarked, and determined to persevere. In a short time we were visited by several kind friends who had encouraged us to form our society, who ordered several garments, and by their kind words cheered us on in the path which then looked so dark and dismal. In a few days business began to increase, and we soon discovered that there was an amount of sympathy with us, of which we had no previous conception. Dr. Channing, of this city, who is ever ready to assist any good cause, called and left with us $20, as a loan, and this was immediately followed by another loan of $25 from a kind and philanthropic gentleman of Providence, R.I., who wishes to do good by stealth. This convinced us we had friends where we least expected, and that we had sympathy and support in circles of which we had no knowledge, and stimulated us to renewed efforts. At the end of six weeks we "took stock," and although we had considerable extra expense in fitting out our store, yet we found in that time that we had increased our capital by $76. Since that time, eight weeks have elapsed, and we have continually found a firm and steady increase in our business. I will present you with an accurate account of the money we owe for loans, &c., the debts owing to us, and the amount of stock on hand. This will, more than anything I can say, show to you our true position.

BALANCE SHEET

DR.		CR.	
To total amount of Cash paid in by Shareholders since commen't to Dec. 31st, 1849, inclusive .	$ 868.74	By Shares returned .	$ 30.00
To Cash borrowed from various friends . .	260.00	By Debts owing to us .	133.92
To Cash owing sundry persons . . .	206.20	Amount of Stock on hand	1,575.28
		By Cash in Treasurer's hand	107.09
		Total . .	$1,846.29
		Deduct . . .	1,335.60
	$1,355.60[17]	Nett profit, after paying all debts, dues and demands	$510.60[18]

The result must indeed surprise you; it was not to be expected by the most sanguine, that success so complete and triumphant should in so short a time have attended an effort originally so humble. To me as the founder of your society, the result is indeed pleasing, and I trust it will tend to convince all workingmen of the immense lever they possess within themselves, by simple co-operation and association, to remove all the evils of which they complain.

And now, gentlemen, permit me to say that, having been the first to teach the working men of these States how to emancipate themselves from the mighty power of Capital, it is fit that you persevere to the end, in the great work which you have begun. For myself, I can see in the dim vista of futurity a glimpse of great magnitude and importance, to which our society must speedily arrive. You should bear always in mind that millions of the sons and daughters of toil are watching your efforts, with the most anxious feelings, and are only watching to see the problem, which you have undertaken to unravel, solved, to imitate your glorious example in hundreds of instances. See then that you cherish the holy cause committed to your keeping; watch over your so-

17 $1,334.94. – Ed.

18 $1,846.29 – $1334.94=$511.35. – Ed.

ciety with the most anxious solicitude; above all things preserve it against the malice or cupidity of any who might wish to convert the work of your hands into a source of profit and emolument to themselves, and who would not hesitate to crush the hopes and aspirations of millions, to put a few paltry dollars additional into their own private pockets.

I cannot too forcibly impress this upon your attention; as it is from this cause that so many similar efforts of workingmen in Europe have hitherto failed. Do you then in time make such regulations as will preserve to you and to your children this institution, and prevent it from being converted into a means of aggrandizing a few at the expense of the many, by building up a few of your own class into employers as despotical, tyrannical, but more unprincipled than the class already in existence.

I think we have now demonstrated the practicability of labor associations, and proved that the only safe, and easy way, to improve and elevate the producer to the position which he ought to occupy, is by simply keeping the profits of his industry to himself. The Printers of this city have, in two instances, imitated your example, and I hope to see it followed by many others. Let us always remember that the remedy is in our hands, and that "God helps those who help themselves." . .

It will be necessary in another month to open an additional store in connection with our society, as business is increasing so rapidly that the present store will not be sufficient for our purpose; and I trust by 1st of January in next year, you will have not less than half a dozen stores in full and active operation, in various parts of the city.

For this purpose I would urge upon all the associates

the propriety of paying up their shares, in order to afford sufficient means to carry on with energy and success our business operations. . . . I remain, Gentlemen,

Yours fraternally, B. S. TREANOR, Sec'y.

(4) New York City Industrial Congress.

(i) Formation.

New York *Semi-weekly Tribune*, June 5, 1850, p. 7, col. 6.

Forty-three different Benevolent, and Protective Societies have chosen Delegates to the Workingmen's Convention (so far as we learn) among which we may enumerate all the different Associations of Boot and Shoemakers, Painters, Bricklayers and Plasterers, Sash and Blind Makers, Porters, House Carpenters, Riggers, Plumbers, Cabinet Makers, Turners, "the Protective Union," Iron Molders, Upholsterers, Bakers, Brotherhood of the Union, Bookbinders, Paper-box and Pocket-book Makers, Central Commission of the United Trades, Mechanic's Mutual Protections, Hat Finishers, Gold and Silver Artisans, Silversmiths, Steam-boiler Makers, Cigar Makers, Dyers, Printers, Brush Makers, Land Reformers, Tin and Sheet-iron Workers, Smiths and Wheelwrights, Coopers and a great number of other Associations from which we have not as yet received any reports.

We trust no branch of Industrial will be unrepresented at the first meeting as the basis of representation must soon be determined.

Daily Tribune, June 7, 1850, p. 4.

. . . The Congress organized on motion of John H. Keyser, by calling Bartholomew Derham temporarily to the Chair. . . . Messrs. Alex. Morrison, Charles McCarthy, Andrew White, Ira B. Davis and Henry J. Crate were then appointed a Committee on Credentials, when, after investigating all the credentials presented, a motion was made and carried to divide the House, so that

it might be known who were the unaccredited Delegates. The roll of those who had presented credentials was then called, and the unaccredited Delegates were afterward received and recognized. No volunteers appeared.

A Delegate moved that the representatives from the various Societies should give the number of their constituents, in order to properly apportion the representation, which was seconded by Mr. Wm. S. Gregory, and laid over until next meeting night. It was the intention of the mover to suggest that all Societies of one hundred or less members, should be entitled to one delegate, and one for each additional hundred. It was moved that a Committee of Nine be appointed to nominate officers. After considerable debate the motion was lost, and it was moved that "we go into a Committee of the Whole for the purpose of nominating and electing officers," which was carried. The delegates resolved themselves into Committee of the Whole, appointing Mr. Doheny Chairman, and the assistant officers as before. On taking the Chair, he thanked the members for the honor conferred upon him, expressing his great sympathy for the objects the various branches of Industry had in organizing into benevolent, protective, associative and coöperative Societies, for benefit and protection, and trusted that this Congress would set an example to the body of the same name now sitting at Washington doing comparatively nothing. The expeditious manner in which the Workingmen disposed of the business attending the organization, corroborated Mr. D's hopes. Before going into an election for officers, Mr. Daniel B. Taylor hoped the Congress would postpone the election of officers to the next session, which was lost, and various candidates proposed for presiding officer. Mr. K. Arthur Bailey having the greatest number of votes recorded for him, was

declared duly elected. The nominations for the other officers were afterward made, resulting, as we have previously announced, in the election of John Stephens, Parsons E. Day, John F. Mitchell and J. G. Brawbach, Vice Pres'ts; H. J. Crate, Recording and Financial Secretary; John H. Keyser, Corresponding Secretary; David Marsh, Treasurer. Vigilance Committee, Patrick Dillon, B. Derham, W. S. Gregory, Alex. Morrison, Jacob W. Seaman, T. Redderson, and Samuel Pancoast. Resolutions were then adopted to apply for the use of the City Hall, and to advertise the next meeting, which is to be called at the instance of the Vigilance Committee and officers. The officers are *ex officio* members of the Vigilance Committee.

The most of the following named Delegates were present, took their seats, and participated in the business:

Cordwainers' Protective Society (Men's Branch) – Chas. McCarthy and Redmond Sheridan; Practical Painters' Benevolent Protective Society – Wm. S. Gregory, Thomas Malone and E. R. Wood; United Association of Coach Painters – Edward Glassey, J. Weldon, G. McDonough; Bricklayers' and Plasterers' Protective Association – P. J. Downey; Window Shade Painters' Protective Union – Griffith Morgan; Sash and Blind Makers' Protective Union – William H. Housner; Boot and Shoemakers' Working Union – Silas N. Hamilton; Porters' Protective Association – D. Campbell Henderson; House Carpenters' Benevolent Association – Havilah M. Smith; House Carpenters' Protective Association – Andrew White, James Bassett; Bloomingdale Carpenters – George Ceis; Riggers' Union Association – Martin J. Brown; Plumbers' Benevolent Society – James H. Wheeler; Cabinet-makers – John G. Braubach; Protective Union – George Adam, Ira B. Davis and John

Commerford; Tobacco Pipe Makers – Dennis Murney, Matthew Keogh; United Workingmen's League – Wm. West; Iron Moulders – Robert Irving; Upholsterers – Charles Crux; Operative Bakers' Union – Bartholomew Derham, Alex. Morrison; Brotherhood of the Union, Ouvrier Circle No. 3 – Parsons E. Day, Israel Peck, David Marsh; Bookbinders, Pocket-book and Paper-box Makers – John C. Toedt; Coopers' Protective Union, No. 1 – Joshua A. Heath; Central Commission of the United Trades – Messrs. Weitling, Kaufmann, Hofer, Braubach and Beckmeir; Mechanics' Mutual Protection, No. 41 – Ben Price, Gilbert C. Dean, Stephen Brooker; Journeymen Hat Finishers – Adolphus J. Johnson, Nelson Crawford and Francis C. Loutrel; Gold and Silver Artisans, and Manufacturing Jewelers – R. C. Pond; Journeymen Silversmiths' Protective and Beneficial Association – John Lowe and Joseph Addington; Steam Boiler Makers' Protective Society – John M. Wilson and John O'Hara; Mechanics' Mutual Protection, No. 19 – Geo. R. Clark; Cigar Makers – Wm. Colony, Charles Wagenfuhr and John Scullin; Stove-makers – David Morgan, John H. Keyser; Eleventh Ward National Reform Association – John B. Brennan; "Church of Humanity" – K. Arthur Bailey; Central National Reform Association – Geo. H. Evans, and Wm. Rowe; Sailors – Watson G. Haynes; Brotherhood of the Union (Nazarene Circle, of the Eleventh Ward) – Jacob W. Seaman, Egbert S. Manning and Daniel C. Smith; from the Social Reform Society, Economical Exchange Association, and the Benevolent Society of Social Reformers – John O. Hund, Gustav Sark, Frederic Weiss; Chronopress Printers – Alba Honeywell; Benevolent Dyers' Association – Robert Donaldson and T. Redderson; Printers' Union – Horace Greeley (ab-

sent) and Henry J. Crate; Brush Makers'—Wm. Wainwright; Seventeenth Ward Land Reform Association—Wm. V. Barr, Francis M. Smith and A. W. Day; Tin and Sheet Iron Workers' Association—Charles A. Guinan, J. Willis and Wm. Hewitt; Smiths and Wheelwrights—Phillip Hassinger and Louis Jonassohn; Marble Polishers—Thomas Somerville, Arthur Conlan and Michael Rigney; Mechanics' Mutual Protection, No. 11—J. Steners, John F. Mitchell, Samuel Pancoast; Laborers' Union Benevolent Society—Patrick Dillon, Thomas Nicholson, Michael Doheny and Daniel B. Taylor; Operative Bakers' Industrial Association of 54 Houston-st. between Lewis and Goerck sts.—John Hunter, Charles Morgan and John Urquhart; Ship Sawyers—Joseph Eustace.

At length the Laborers of our City have formed a central organization, and a most powerful one too, in which the most of the branches of Industry is represented. We trust that no class of workingmen will be unrepresented at the next session of the Congress, and we are pleased to learn that the Societies which are about to meet will also move in this matter.

Eighty-three delegates were present, and all seemed animated by an earnest zeal, which augurs that something will be done to render working men less dependent on the fluctuations of trade and the caprices of the employers than they have hitherto been.

The daily and Sunday papers, *Young America*, the *People's Weekly Journal*, Boston *Protective Union*, *America's Own*, the *American Chronopress*, and all other papers friendly to Labor Protection, are requested to publish these delegates and a sketch of the proceedings. . .

(ii) Constitution and Principles.

New York *Daily Tribune*, July 3, 1850, pp. 1, 2. Proceedings of New York City Industrial Congress, sixth session.

Met on Monday evening at the Operative Bakers' Union House of Call, third story of the Grand-st. Hall near Broadway, and was much more numerously attended than any previous meeting at this place – K. Arthur Bailey (a working Journeyman Printer) presiding, and H. J. Crate, Recording and Financial Secretary, also officiating. After the Council of Delegates from the different benevolent and protective Associations of the City and vicinity was called to order, the roll of officers called, and the minutes read and confirmed, the Committee of Thirteen on Resolutions reported that they had under consideration the resolution of Mr. S. N. Hamilton, "and although favorable to the object set forth, think it would be premature to adopt it without first submitting it to the various societies, and would therefore offer the following resolution and recommend its passage:"

RESOLVED, that it be recommended to the different mechanical and laboring Associations to take into consideration the propriety of establishing Coöperative Unions to conduct their business for their own benefit (This was substituted for Mr. H's resolution.)

The Committee reported favorably to the passage of Mr. Wild's 1st proposition, also the 2d, and after amending the 3d recommended its adoption:

1. To consider the propriety of appointing delegations from this Congress to wait upon the various Trades and Industrial Associations, with a view to promote their more efficient organization. Such deputations may also be effective by aiding in the organization of other bodies of mechanics or laborers, not united, should application be made to this Congress.

2. To consider the propriety of devising the mos

efficient plan for drawing off the surplus laborers or unemployed hands in each department of labor.

3. To consider the propriety of recommending the mechanics and laborers of New York to agitate with a view of creating public opinion in favor of shortening the hours of labor, pursuant to the enactment of a bill limiting the working hours of the laboring man to 48 for the week, or 8 hours per day.

No action was taken on this Report, and it lies over, under the rule.

Mr. Crate, of the Protective Union of Printers, presented a resolution in favor of the coöperative system, which was referred to the Standing Committee of Thirteen on Resolutions, who, it will be seen from the above, have reported the subject back to the Societies represented in the Congress.

Wm. V. Barr presented a new Preamble as a substitute for the one which elicited so warm a discussion at the last meeting, and trusted all unnecessary agitation about so trifling a matter would be allayed, and that the Congress should enter at once upon the business before it.

The following is the new Preamble and the Constitution, as adopted, each section separately:

The Delegates appointed by the several organizations of Mechanics and Laborers of the City of New York, for the purpose of forming a Central Industrial Council, being deeply sensible of the privations and sufferings imposed on the Laboring Classes by the hostility of the relations which now exist between Capital and Labor, and of the constant tendency of these relations to increase the evils complained of, do hereby form ourselves into a permanent organization for the purpose of devising means to reconcile the interests of Labor and Capital—to secure to the Laborer the full product of his toil—to

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2. To consider the propriety of devising the most

promote union, harmony, and brotherly feeling among all the workmen, of whatever occupation—and to use all available means to promote their moral, intellectual and social elevation: and for the attainment of these objects we adopt the following Constitution:

ARTICLE I. The style of this instrument shall be the "Constitution of New York City Industrial Congress."

ARTICLE II. This Congress shall be constituted on the following principles:

1. Its members shall be elected annually by industrial bodies or associations of men who subscribe to these principles, to-wit: "That all men are created equal—that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are the right to life and liberty, to the fruits of their labor, to the use of such a portion of the earth and the other elements as shall suffice to provide them with the means of subsistence and comfort, to education and paternal protection from society."

2. The members shall be elected by Association, consisting of three Delegates chosen from each body.

ARTICLE III. Delegates. That all Associations of Industrials, Mechanics and Laborers, whether Benevolent or Protective (chartered or not) shall be entitled to three Delegates, who must be members of the organization they represent. (This section elicited much unnecessary discussion, and after being passed twice, once by a stand up vote, and again by calling the yeas and nays—35 for and 20 against.)

ARTICLE IV. Meetings. . .

ARTICLE V. Election of Officers. . .

ARTICLE VI. Funds. The Constitutional Committee recommended that each Association should pay $1 on the presentation of the credentials of the Delegates, which was amended on motion of Mr. Gregory, second-

ed by Mr. Cornelius McClosky (President of the First Division of the Bricklayers and Plasterers' Association) by giving the Council power to assess each such sum as was necessary to defray expenses, which had been done at a previous meeting, by requiring fifty cents from the Representatives of each Society, and which has been complied with by many of the Delegates, as appears from the statement rendered by Mr. Crate.

ARTICLE VII. Vacancies. . .

ARTICLE VIII. Vigilance Committee. During the session of this Industrial Congress, fifteen persons shall be appointed, who, together with the officers of this Congress, shall constitute a Vigilance Committee, whose duties shall be to appoint time and place for meeting of this Council (unless otherwise provided for), &c.

ARTICLE IX. Amendments to this Document and Rules of Order Previously Adopted. . .

. . . Congress then proceeded to the order of the day, (the adoption of the Constitution) the Preamble and first two articles having been previously adopted separately. Before the third article relating to who shall be received as Delegates, was read, Mr. Charles Crux, (of the Journeymen Upholsterers' Society) said he was opposed to the admission of Delegates from "Benevolent" Associations, he supposing that Delegates might be sent from the Free Masons, Odd Fellows, Sons of Temperance, and other exclusively secret orders of this class, who might be opposed to the cause of Labor, and come into the Congress for the purpose of sowing the seeds of discord. The section was read again, but so indistinctly that the Delegates did not perceive the words, Industrials, Mechanics, Laborers. It can be seen at a glance that the article as it stands could only admit Delegates from Associations of Workingmen, and we

regret so much valuable time was wasted in discussing so trivial a question. Look at the Constitutions of the Benevolent Societies of Saddlers, Stone Masons, Laborers, Cordwainers, Coopers, Iron Molders, Plumbers, Hat-finishers, Tailors, Smiths, Carpenters, Brotherhood of the Union, "Church of Humanity," &c. (a powerful workingmen's Association, holding regular weekly meetings at the Assyrian Rooms, Third-st. to which a great portion of the Industrials employed in the Navy Yard have joined) and what do we find? Every document expressly states that these Associations are organized for the relief of their members, and that no person can join them who has not been regularly bred to the business they work at, and Labor is recognized as paramount in all the Constitutions. Read the eloquent appeals in behalf of the Rights of Man Societies, and the various reforms of the day eloquently set forth in them, and say these Associations are doubtful in their support of Progress. The idea is preposterous. Secret Societies of the Odd Fellows, &c. have no idea of sending Delegates; and furthermore, a re-perusal of Article III would convince any person that no Association could send Delegates to the Industrial Congress who were not composed of laboring men—*Industrials*. Our best Protective Labor Associations have adopted the "benevolent" feature. If all societies with beneficial provisions were excluded, the Social Reform League now in session would be dwindled down to one or two Associations. Not a Society in the City has declared in favor of establishing a General Trade's Union, yet we understand the Delegates from the Bricklayers are favorable to such a scheme. It would prove a failure, as every calling (which is united associatively) is a Trade's Union in itself, and opposed to spending their money in support-

ing other trades in striking against their employers. The Labor Congress now sitting is what the Industrials of our cities want, where their grievances can be canvassed, and proper means for their alleviation proposed.

The question of the admission of Benevolent Societies was fairly established twice by a two-thirds vote, and we trust that subject will be set at rest at the next meeting, by the adoption of the whole of the Constitution, as prepared by Messrs. Downie, Keyser, McCarthy, Adams and Heath, over the factious and litigious of the disappointed Delegates, bent on the perversion of the glorious Labor movement now in progress throughout the country. We are surprised that the Bricklayers and Plasterers' Delegates should lead off in attacking the prominent Reformers in the Industrial Congress, and we are rejoiced that Mr. McClosky apologized, before he sat down, for the hasty remarks he had uttered. This is right, as the Bricklayers are the offspring of the present movement, and should be last to attempt its destruction. . .

In the course of the debate on Benevolence, Mr. Patrick Dillon read an interesting document giving the views of the Laborers' Union Benevolent Society in favor of the Industrial Congress and the great principle of Protective Benevolences generally. In reading this Report, Mr. Dillon was frequently applauded. Its great length precludes us from publishing it. This old established, chartered Benevolent Society takes a proud stand in the cause of Labor and is strongly in favor of a "Union" of the working classes, where bickerings and heart-burnings will not be tolerated. All the Laborers desire of Congress, is to recognize an increase of their wages to ten shillings per day, (which many employers admit is small enough) and thus extend a helping hand

by recognizing the Laborers' rights to elevate themselves in the social scale. They have rallied under the banner of "Charity and Self Protection," procured their charter from the State, and trimmed their gallant bark to the breeze. We make the following extracts:

Thus far we have made good our principle of charity—we have acted in fulfillment of the command from on High, and have done our duty to our fellow men on earth, by visiting the sick and burying the dead; we have made by our liberal donations the orphan's heart glad, and dried many a widow's tears; we have pressed on firm and united, and now number in our benevolent folds Six Thousand of good citizens, and in our first organization we were only six individuals to commence with; we have received during our organization the sweetest smiles of Heaven, and we have therefore every thing to cheer us on to the great and glorious destiny that awaits us.

. . . . . We regret that any acrimonious feeling should have been exhibited in the Workingmen's Council, and trust for the future that such a spirit should be very properly frowned down. The Laborers have set the ball rolling, and let every other benevolent or Protective Society follow its noble example in maintaining "Union" at all hazards.

A Delegate, toward the adjournment, very unjustly attacked the "Church of Humanity"—the powerful Workingmen's Association situated in the Eleventh Ward, and so popular with the Journeymen of that vicinity. . .

(iii) The Tailors.
New York *Daily Tribune*, July 19, 1850, p. 1, col. 3.

Another monster mass meeting of the Journeymen Tailors was held last night at the Sixth Ward Hotel, Center-st. In the morning, the members brought their work, and it was resolved that the chief part of it should be returned to the stores. . .

The pantaloon makers held a branch meeting at the

same place, and we publish herewith their prices, which, according to the judgment of very competent men, are at a thorough moderate scale:

NEW-YORK JOURNEYMEN TAILORS' BILL OF PRICES FOR SOUTHERN PANTALOONS

Pants of black or blue Cassimere, Doeskin, &c. made plain	$.75
EXTRAS	
Canvas in bottoms	$.12½
Straps of same material, detached or sewed on	.12½
Binding tops	.06¼
Stripes down the side	.25
Cords down the side, per pair	.12½
Inside Waist-strap	.06¼
Lined all through	.12½
Half lined	.06¼
For Merinos, or any kind of fancy Doeskin or Cassimere Plain Pants, commence at	.62½
Extras—same as above.	

The Tailors will hold another meeting to-day at 1 o'clock, and at 7 o'clock in the evening, for the purpose of coöperating with the German Tailors, who are hereby particularly requested to appear. We learn also that the Germans have a meeting of their own on Monday, to coöperate with their "English" brethren. This is right, and we trust the Tailors will be found coöperating with each other without distinction of nationalities or trifling peccadillos.

Daily Tribune, July 26, 1850, p. 3.

DECLARATION of the German Central Committee of the United Trades in reference to the movements among the Tailors.

We, the Delegates of seventeen Protective Societies numbering about 4,500 members, hereby declare to the public as follows:

1. We have witnessed with pain and indignation the false reports that have been circulated by the daily press

of this City in relation to the recent movements among the Tailors—which reports have had a tendency to destroy that sympathy of feeling on the part of the public which would otherwise have conducted the cause of Truth and Right to victory. The object of the Tailors' movement was not to attack persons and property, but only to present to their bosses their bill of prices, and to unite together all the Journeymen Tailors, as well as their Employers who adhere to this bill, into one great Protective Union, which should guard the rights and promote the interests of all.

2. Never was the demand for a rise of wages more moral, moderate and just, than in the present instance. Even many of our most esteemed employers acknowledge this, and not only adhere to the new bill of prices, but also favor this movement in other ways—inasmuch as it secures the interest of the employer as well as the employed, by guaranteeing to each proper protection against losses which, until now, have too often occurred from the dishonesty of their workmen.

3. We especially protest with all the power of a revolted feeling against the brutality and insolence with which many of our Policemen have conducted themselves in the numerous arrests which have been made. We did not expect to find in this free country a Russian Police, nor do we believe that the people will sustain these officials in their evident abuse of power.

We therefore rally our voices to the unanimous declaration of the Representatives of the New York City Industrial Congress as follows:

RESOLVED, that we sympathize with the Tailors, now struggling for the maintenance of a standard of wages that will enable them to live without being dependent upon charity, and that we regard the old game of legal

prosecution again put in operation, as in 1835, as a base attempt to crush the effort now being made for their relief. (Signed) CENTRAL COM. OF UNITED TRADES.

New York *Daily Tribune*, Aug. 8, 1850. Proceedings of New York City Industrial Congress.

W. Weitling reported for the German Tailors' Committee of Thirteen the following resolutions, taken this day by that body:

Whereas, we employed in the beginning of our strike all possible reasonable means to bring the bosses to an understanding of the object of their own interest, and all this was of no use, because they declined for the most part our just demands;

Whereas, we find ourselves among those who do not understand our indignation and misrepresent us, with our feelings abused;

Whereas, we cannot any longer wait without acting, we now employ the following means to reach our object:

1. We appeal to our friends here and abroad and to the public at large, to help us in the establishment of an Association Clothing Establishment.

2. We accept gratefully every assistance as a loan which we will retribute by giving clothes for the money received.

3. We will charge the public for the work done in our establishment only the prices set down in our list of prices.

4. So long as the establishment does not realize so much as to repay all loans made, we only will take for our work so much as to pay our board, and leave the remainder in the general stock.

5. The establishment shall remain the property of all the adhering tailors.

6. We accept gratefully the offer of the different

Trades Delegates present and hope to be able to show to the world what by energy and sympathy, by courage and sacrifice, can be done.

Received with applause.

Daily Tribune, Aug. 13, 1850, p. 1.

Shortly after the appointed hour, (5 o'clock, p.m.) the space immediately in front of the City Hall Park, began to be thronged with Industrials of all branches, who came to manifest their sympathy with the establishment of a Coöperative Clothing store by the Journeymen Tailors' Protective Union, (German and English branches.) The meeting was held in pursuance of the recommendation of the Industrial Congress, both branches of the Tailors' Society, and of the only extensive Coöperative Association in the city, (the Protective Union.)

The meeting organized on the motion of David Marsh, who nominated as President, Gilbert C. Deane, and Mr. Wm. V. Barr then read the following list of Vice-presidents and Secretaries, composed, as it will be seen, of prominent men engaged in the Labor movement from most of the organized benevolent and protective Labor Societies in the city:

Vice-presidents. Iron-molders–Robert Irving, Thomas Middleton, Robert Yates and David Bloom; Upholsterers–Charles Crux, George Hoyt, A. A. Gautier and J. P. Evans; Tobacco-pipe Makers–Reuben Smith, Denis Murney and Matthew Keogh; Operative Bakers–J. Z. Renne, G. Vogelgesang, Louis Hallbauer, Ira A. Campbell, Bartholomew Derham and John Urquhart; Bookbinders–John C. Toedt; Coopers–Joshua A. Heath, James W. Flinn, H. J. Hanson, George Riter; Hat-finishers–Adolphus J. Johnson, Nelson Crawford,

Francis J. Loutrel; House-carpenters – James Bassett, Ben. Price and George Ceis; Sash and Blind Makers – J. E. Colgrove, W. H. Housner and Isaac Torboss; Plumbers – James H. Wheeler, Andrew Melville, David Kennedy; Cabinet-makers – John G. Braubach, H. Toaspern, F. Steffen; Coach Painters – Selah H. Burtt, Robert McCafferty, Edward Glassey; Ladies Cordwainers – Stephen Dunn, Robert McCabe, Lewis W. Ryckman, A. Connolly; Men's Branch of the Cordwainers – Charles McCarthy, Wm. O'Driscoll, Michael McMahon, Thomas Baker, Wm. Tyson, Silas N. Hamilton, John Reid, Redmond Sheridan; Window Shade Painters – Griffith Morgan, Jno. C. Hubbs, Thomas Villiers, Ferdinand Berger; House Painters – Wm. S. Gregory, James Bradley, John Delany; Brick and Stone Masons – Francis Flanagan, Wm. Richardson, John O'Connor; Bricklayers and Plasterers – Cornelius McClosky, P. J. Downie, Wm. Crussell, Jacob Clark, Alexander Wiseman, Thomas Quin, E. J. Fleming, Wm. Coppinger; Dyers – Robert Donaldson, Robert List and T. Redderson; Silversmiths – P. M. B. Ridley, John Lowe, Joseph Addington, John P. Brinkerhoff Steam Boiler Makers – Patrick Brady, John M. Wilson, John Dean, Solomon Jamieson, John Walker and F. Rogers; Cigar Makers – John J. Kuhn, C. Wagenfuhr, C. A. Story and Louis Troug; Printers – E. H. Rogers, Charles C. Savage, Wm. H. Prindle and Robert H. Johnston; Brush Makers – Wm. Wainwright, Peter Peck, Wm. Alphonso; Marble Polishers – Thomas Somerville, John Woolsey, James Elliott; Tin and Sheet Iron Workers – Charles A. Guinand, J. Willis and Wm. Hewett; Smiths (Iron and Metal Workers) – Peter V. Garrett, Philip Hassinger, T. F. Alling, Frederick Eisart, Charles Fisscher; Tailors – John Donnelly, Wm.

J. Leonard, J. Andrew Handschuch, C. Buschmann; Saddlers – Richard A. Chambers, W. H. Plant, Hamilton H. Murray; Laborers – Thomas Colohan, Patrick Tracy, Matthew Carr, James Cummings, Thomas Nicholson, Thomas McKiernan, Patrick Halpen, John McGlynn, and P. Dillon; Ship-sawyers – Joseph Eustace, James Gallagher, Thos. Beacon; Lithographic Printers – Charles Hart, Francis Wogram, John Elliott; Stove Makers – David Morgan; Ship-wrights and Caulkers – Robert McGowan, Andrew Thompson and Hamilton Wade; Wrought Spike-makers – E. Lea, James Long, Wm. Owens, Peter Mahony, J. W. Price, Thomas Parks; Cartmen – John McMullen, Wm. C. Foster, Wm. H. Losee and David Banks; Watchcase Makers – R. W. G. Simpson, Edward Humbert, F. H. Griffin; Grocers' Clerks – Wm. H. Van Cleef, W. S. Hutchings, Wm. H. Gardner; Button and Fringe Makers – A. Aurnhammer, H. Fuchs and T. Gerner; Hatters – Geo. H. Richards, John Staginus and Henry Wallenberger; Riggers – Wilmot Jackson, Walter S. Jarboe and Martin J. Brown; Quarrymen – Thomas Kearnan, Bartholomew Monaghan, Thomas Cramer, Bernard Smith and Thomas Donley; Carvers – Thomas Somerville and Edward Conolly; Block and Pump Makers – Wm. Smith, Isaac Greenhalgh, John Whitehead and James Evans; Licensed Public Porters – David M. Oakley, Thomas McAndrew and John Landers; Sailmakers – James Daly, Wm. Recor and James G. Lent; Stone Cutters – Wm. Young, Wm. Karnes, Michael Murphy, Henry Wilson, Michael Cotter; Varnishers and Polishers – Jacob J. Brinkerhoff, Christopher Monahan; Ship Joiners – Henry W. Collins, Francis B. Ferry, John Weed, Abraham B. Wright, Anson P. Sanford; Chair Makers – John Commerford; Boot Makers –

F. Jung, G. A. Munsch, and —— Nietzel; Gilders—Charles R. Hatfield, Henry Felton; Dry Goods' Clerks—George T. E. Sheldon, Wm. R. Harrison and Wm. S. Clapp; Confectioners—A. Pfeiffer and Wm. Barthel; Brooklyn Masons' Laborers—John Ferrall and Martin Galvin; Butchers—Wm. H. Cornell, Samuel P. Patterson and Moses E. Crasto; Umbrella Frame Makers—T. Miller, E. Lamb and E. Love; Marble Cutters—Joseph Dugan and Alexander Smith.

Secretaries. K. Arthur Bailey, P. E. Day, J. M. Tobitt, George Arch-Deacon, F. Kavanagh, A. Honeywell, G. Vale, G. H. Evans, F. J. Otterson, C. W. Colburn, Louis Jonassohn, Wm. Weitling, Wm. Granger, Charles Scheer.

K. Arthur Bailey, President of the Industrial Congress, then presented the following Address and Resolutions, as prepared by the Committee, which were adopted:

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS: It is an undeniable truth that God, the common and beneficent parent of all mankind, in the creation of the world, designed all the elements thereof to be the common property of all his children, together with the fowls of the air, the fishes of the sea, the beasts of the field, and all things, whether animate or inanimate, therein contained, to be made subservient to the universal interest, happiness and independence of all mankind; and has enjoined upon us the duty of replenishing and subduing the earth, to cause it to bring forth abundantly that which will sustain the life of the beast, gladden the heart, satiate the desires and supply the necessities of men; and were it not that the law of men has interdicted the law of God, and locked up the land from its rightful owners, who, with hopeful hearts and willing hands, would gladly become

the cultivators of the land which God gave them for their possession, make the fair face of this Republic a second Garden of God, a Paradise on earth, beneath the branches of whose trees the birds of the primeval Paradise would be glad to sing.

And, whereas, the history of this country and the history of the world evidently shows that under the present system of landlordism, monopoly and wrong, that no permanent benefit can arise from periodical irruptures of isolated trades, which only give to the capitalists a pretext to raise his rents, which like the laws of the Medes and the Persians, admit of no alterations, at least in a diminutive point of view, and, as it is a duty which man owes to God, to society, and posterity, and those henceforth dependent on him for subsistence, to produce as much as he and they can consume, it is no less a duty incumbent upon him to secure the productions of his labor to himself, and those legitimately entitled thereto, and for the accomplishment of this noble purpose, has this vast assembly been congregated to consummate among the Tailors, an Union, indissoluble, just and strong, whereby they may judiciously establish a Coöperative store, and henceforth cease work for the benefit and aggrandizement of others, and commence to labor for themselves, in the primeval independence in which God created men, and from you, friends and brethren, they require, what you will readily accord, a support, effective, sincere, lasting and strong; be it therefore,

RESOLVED, that it is the imperative duty of the Industrial classes throughout the city, to aid and support the Operative Tailors in their establishing a general Union, where all will be mutually interested, and equal shareholders in the profits of their own labor.

RESOLVED, that this meeting hail with great pleasure

the noble and praiseworthy efforts of the Tailors to establish a coöperative store, and thereby sustain the Tailors by any and every means within their power, inasmuch as they regard the principle of coöperation as one of the chief means whereby the masses may redeem themselves and posterity from a state of degradation and destitution. . .

Ira B. Davis (the Business Agent, Inspector and Subtreasurer of the Protective Union Labor Association, a real working Industrial Congress) announced that his Association sends you the following, which was received with applause during its perusal:

The Protective Union of the City of New-York to the Useful Classes in the Park assembled, August 12, 1850.

SONS OF TOIL – You live in an epoch fraught with circumstances of momentous importance to the present and future generations of humanity.

The time has arrived when stern necessity requires that you should arouse from your position of slavery and adopt measures by which your rights may be regained and in future preserved.

Plans have been devised, in language more simple and methods more practicable than at any former period in the history of oppression.

The question for solution now is:

Have you suffered sufficient to arouse you to the full determination to surmount every obstacle in the way of obtaining your proper position of equality and unity?

Or has your long-suffering so impaired the intellect and brutalized the heart as to disqualify you from comprehending the one or practising the other?

If you would be free to labor when you please, and secure the fruits thereof, it is you who must remove the cause that binds and plunders you.

If you would realize the full advantages of brotherhood, you must fraternize with every useful class upon the broad principle of Equality.

If you would destroy avarice and competition – if you would prevent wretchedness and crime – if you would relieve the laborer of onerous toil, and stimulate the indolent to wholesome industry, you must remodel society upon a basis where proprietor and laborer are united in the same person.

And while the Protective Union most deeply sympathizes with those workmen on strike for an advance of wages, yet it would call their earnest attention to the more effectual method of gaining their object and removing forever the necessity of another strike.

By forming Associations similar to or joining the present organized Protective Union, the present employers would be dispensed with, the Association taking their place, in which the members would establish their prices for labor without interference from parties whose interests are opposite.

The object of the P. U. is to establish equality of condition, by uniting all useful classes, and those friendly to equal rights and duties being enjoyed and fulfilled by all; to extend succor to the indigent and furnish employment to the healthy.

The plan of operation is simple and practicable, as has been proved by two and a half years of business life.

Persons becoming members pay an initiation fee of five dollars; and with this capital every branch of industry is to be established. The profits accruing from the prosecution of trade are also invested to aid the work of emancipation, and no dividends are to be declared until the entire trade of society is absorbed and the labor so apportioned that all shall be required to

earn their bread by the performance of some useful service.

For said fee and the payment of weekly dues, members are entitled to employment and four dollars per week in sickness.

The P. U. now invites the working classes and friends of justice to unite with it and aid the speedy establishment of every branch of useful industry.

It also offers to assist (as far as able) all Industrial Reform Associations.

The Tailors are invited to call at the P. U. in Seventh-av. corner of Nineteenth-st. where they may be assisted to organize that trade.

IRA B. DAVIS, GEORGE ADAIR—Delegates from the Protective Union.

After he had concluded the reading of the Protective Union's Report, he gave some of the workings of that established Coöperative Association, and said all workingmen were invited to inquire into its principles, objects and aims. The time must come when every trade shall be coöperatively organized. As to strikes, he did not believe in them, and said that the money expended in getting them up could be more profitably invested in means for the real benefit of the working classes. Unfortunately for the worker, visionary schemes had been proposed to them, and it was time to be on their guard. As a sure and safe way of getting rid of surplus labor and invention of machines, Labor must be so organized as to stay the further inroads of these improvements, unless the people reap their benefits. Man has a natural right to a portion of the earth, and that right must be guaranteed. What shall be done? At the primary elections, question all the candidates who are nominated, and see that fit and capable men are chosen for offices of trust

and responsibility. Apply this question. If you are elected, will you vote for a law declaring the right of all to a portion of the earth to grow the necessaries of life? . . .

New York *Daily Tribune*, Aug. 21, 1850, p. 1, col. 4.

A large meeting of all the German trades was held on Monday morning, 9 o'clock, at Hillenbrand's, Hester-st. to take into consideration the organization of the Tailors for the Coöperative Union. There were some differences to be removed, and a perfect Union should be established. The result turned out very favorably for Law and Order. A small Association, numbering about 250 members, existed among this trade since last Spring, which has a capital stock of about $7,000, partly procured by contributions and partly by gifts received from trades in different States of the Union. A large Association, of about 3,000 members, has been formed within the last few weeks, with the same objects, originating out of the general strike of the Tailors.

The old Association had refused to hand over their funds to the newly organized Society, saying that each member should first contribute as much as they had given—the amount of $10—as fixed by the Constitution. The Committee of Thirteen, representing the 3,000 Tailors, said: "We are exhausted in consequence of our last strike; you will receive the regular contributions of 3,000 members, and this will be of a great advantage to you, and will equalize your contributions."

After elaborate addresses by Messrs. Weitling, Schilling, Steffens, Buschman and others, which all tended to show how peace, union and fraternity only would strengthen their cause and procure to the German Tailors the respect of the community, it was

RESOLVED, that a Tailors' Association shall be instituted as soon as possible.

Every Tailor may become a member who pays $.25 initiation-fee, and $.25 weekly, up to the sum of $2, and afterwards one shilling, until the sum of $10 be paid. Whoever desires to become a member after one month from to-day, is to pay $.50, instead of $.25 initiation fee. Those who pay by their contributions the sum of $5, and who receive low wages at their shops, are the first entitled to receive work from the shop of the Associations. Nevertheless, the Directors are entitled to procure work for those who are poor or became destitute through other circumstances. . . Towards the close of the meeting, a third Committee was elected for supervising the defense of committed Tailors, and providing for those who are still in prison. . .

(5) "Industrial Harmony."—The Cincinnati Molders.

New York *Weekly Tribune*, Dec. 15, 1849, p. 6. Editorial Correspondence of the *Tribune.*

ON THE OHIO, Nov. 30, 1849. The business of Iron-moulding, Casting, or whatever it may be called, is one of the most extensive and thrifty of the Manufactures of Cincinnati, and I believe the labor employed therein is quite as well rewarded as Labor generally. It is entirely paid by the piece, according to an established scale of prices, so that each workman, in whatever department of the business, is paid according to his individual skill and industry, not a rough average of what is supposed to be earned by himself and others, as is the case where work is paid for at so much per day, week or month. I know no reason why the Iron-moulders of Cincinnati should not have been as well satisfied with the old ways as anybody else.

Yet the system did not "work well," even for them.

Beyond the general unsteadiness of demand for Labor and the ever-increasing pressure of competition, there was a pretty steadily recurring "dull season," commencing about the 1st of January, when the Winter's call for stoves, &c. had been supplied, and holding on for two or three months, or until the Spring business opened. In this hiatus the prior savings of the Moulder were generally consumed – sometimes less, but perhaps oftener more – so that, taking one with another, they did not lay up ten dollars per annum.

By-and-by came a collision respecting wages and a "strike" wherein the Journeymen tried the experiment of running their heads against a stone wall for months. How they came out of it, no matter whether victors or vanquished, the intelligent reader will readily guess. I never heard of any evils so serious and complicated as those which eat out the heart of Labor being cured by doing nothing.

At length – but I believe after the strike had somehow terminated – some of the Journeymen Moulders said to each other: "Standing idle is not the true cure for our grievances: why not employ ourselves?" They finally concluded to try it, and, in the dead of the Winter of 1847-8, when a great many of their trade were out of employment, the business being unusually depressed, they formed an association under the General Manufacturing Law of Ohio (which is very similar to that of New-York) and undertook to establish the Journeymen Moulders' Union Foundry. There were about twenty of them who put their hands to the work, and the whole amount of capital they could scrape together was $2,100, held in shares of $25 each. With this they purchased an eligible piece of ground, directly on the bank of the Ohio, eight miles below Cincinnati, with which "the

Whitewater Canal" also affords the means of ready and cheap communication. With their capital, they bought some patterns, flasks, an engine and tools, paid for their ground and $500 on their first building, which was erected for them partly on long credit by a firm in Cincinnati, who knew that the property was a perfect security for so much of its cost, and decline taking credit for any benevolence in the matter. Their Iron, Coal, &c. to commence upon were entirely and necessarily bought on credit.

Having elected Directors, a Foreman and a Business Agent (the last to open a store in Cincinnati, buy stock, sell wares, &c.) the Journeymen's Union set to work, a little more than a year ago. Its accommodations were then meagre; they have since been gradually enlarged by additions, until their Foundry is now the most commodious on the River. Their stock of Patterns, Flasks, &c. has grown to be one of the best; while their arrangements for unloading coal and iron, sending off stoves, coking coal, &c. are almost perfect. They commenced with ten associates actually at work; the number has gradually grown to forty; and there is not a better set of workmen in any foundry in America. I profess to know a little as to the quality of castings, and there are no better than may be seen in the Foundry of "Industry" and its store at Cincinnati. And there is obvious reason for this in the fact that every workman is a proprietor in the concern, and it is his interest to turn out not only his own work in the best order but to take care that all the rest is of like quality. All is carefully examined before it is sent away, and any found imperfect is condemned, the loss falling on the causer of it. But there is seldom any deserving condemnation.

A strict account is kept with every member, who is

credited for all he does according to the Cincinnati Scale of Prices, paid so much as he needs of his earnings in money, the balance being devoted to the extension of the concern and the payment of its debts, and new stock issued to him therefor. Whenever the debts shall have been paid off, and an adequate supply of implements, teams, stock, &c. bought or provided for, they expect to pay every man his earnings weekly in cash, as of course they may. I hope, however, they will prefer to buy more land, erect thereon a most substantial and commodious dwelling, surround it with a garden, shade-trees, &c. and resolve to live as well as work like brethren. There are few uses to which a member can put a hundred dollars which might not as well be subserved by seventy-five if the money of the whole were invested together.

The members are now earning an average of fifteen dollars per week and mean to keep doing so. Of course, they work hard. Many of them live inside of four dollars per week, none go beyond eight. Their Business Agent is one of themselves, who worked with them in the Foundry for some months after it was started. He has often been obliged to report, "I can pay you no money this week," and never heard a murmur in reply. On one occasion he went down to say, "There are my books; you see what I have received and where most of it has gone; here is one hundred dollars, which is all there is left." The members consulted, calculated, and made answer: "We can pay our board so as to get through another week with fifty dollars, and you had better take back the other fifty, for the business may need it before the week is through." When I was there on Wednesday, there had been an Iron note to pay, ditto a Coal, and a boat-load of Coal to lay in for the

Winter, sweeping off all the money, so that for more than three weeks no man had had a dollar. Yet no man had thought of complaining, for they knew that the delay was dictated, not by another's interest, but their own. They knew, too, that the assurance of their payment did not depend on the frugality or extravagance of some employer, who might swamp the proceeds of his business and their labor in an unlucky speculation or a sumptuous dwelling, leaving them to whistle for their money. There were their year's earnings visibly around them, in Stoves and Hollow Ware, for which they had abundant and eager demand in Cincinnati, but which a break in the canal had temporarily kept back; in Iron and Coal for the Winter's work; in the building over their heads and the implements in their hands. And while other Moulders have had work "off and on," according to the state of the business, no member of the Journeymen's Union has stood idle a day for want of work since their Foundry was first started. Of course, as their capital increases, the danger of being compelled to suspend work at any future day grows less and less continually.

The ultimate capital of the Journeymen's Union Foundry (on the presumption that the Foundry is to stand by itself, leaving every member to provide his own home, &c.) is to be $18,000 of which $7,000 has already been paid in, most of it in labor. The remainder is all subscribed by the several associates, and is to be paid in labor as fast as possible.

That done, every man may be paid in cash weekly for his work, and a dividend on his stock at the close of every business year. The workers have saved and invested from $300 to $600 each since their commencement in August of last year, though those who have joined since the stand have of course earned less. Few or none

had laid by so much in five to ten years' working for others as they have in one year working for themselves. The total value of their products up to this time is $30,000, and they are now making at the rate of $5,000 worth per month, which they do not mean to diminish. All the profits of the business, above the cost of doing the work at journeymen's wages, will be distributed among the stockholders in dividends. The officers of the Union are a Managing Agent, Foreman of the Foundry and five Directors, chosen annually, but who can be changed meantime in case of necessity. A Reading Room and Library are to be started directly; a spacious Boarding House (though probably not owned by the Union) will go up next season. No liquor is sold within a long distance of the Union, and there is little or no demand for any. Those original members of the Union who were least favorable to Temperance have seen fit to sell out and go away. . .

(b) THE COST OF LIVING

New York *Daily Tribune*, May 27, 1851, p. 7, col. 1. Correspondence from Philadelphia.

. . . The Carpenters of our city are upon a strike for an advance of $.25 a day; this will make $10.50 a week. . . Take a workingman at from 30 to 40 years of age, with his wife and three children. . . To take away all opportunities of dissatisfaction, I will average the family at five. Now what will it take to maintain a family of the last mentioned number weekly? . . . A barrel of flour, $5, will last 8 weeks—this will leave flour $.62½ per week; sugar, 4 lbs. at $.08 per lb., $.32 per week; butter, 2 lbs. at $.31¼ per lb., $.62½; milk, $.02 per day, $.14 per week; butcher's meat, 2 lbs. of beef at $.10 per lb. per day, $1.40 per week; potatoes, half

a bushel, $.50, coffee and tea per week, $.25; candle-light $.14 per week; fuel, 3 tons coal, $15 per annum; charcoal, chips, matches, et cetera, $5 year. This makes $.40 per week for fuel. Salt, pepper, vinegar, starch, soap, soda, yeast, now and then some cheese, eggs, &c., $.40 a week more, for all these sundries; wear and tear and breakage of household articles, such as cups, saucers, plates, dishes, pans, knives, forks, &c., $.25 per week; rent $3.00 per week; bed clothes and bedding $.20; wearing apparel $2.00 per week; newspapers $.12. Let us now sum all up:

Flour	$ .62½	Sundries	$ .40
Sugar	.32	Household articles	.25
Butter	.62½	Bedding	.20
Milk	.14	Rent	3.00
Butcher's meat	1.40	Wearing apparel	2.00
Potatoes	.50	Newspapers	.12
Tea and Coffee	.25		
Candles and Oil	.14	Total	$10.37
Fuel	.40		

I ask, have I made the working man's comforts too high? Where is the money to pay for amusements, for ice creams, his puddings, trips on Sunday up or down the river, in order to get some fresh air; to pay the doctor or apothecary, to pay for pew rent in the church, to purchase books, musical instruments? . . .

(c) NEW YORK STATE INDUSTRIAL LEGISLATURE

(1) The Call.

New York *Daily Tribune*, July 23, 1851, p. 4, col. 5.

The New-York State Industrial Legislature is hereby called together to hold its first annual session in the Capitol at Albany on Wednesday, the 3d of September, 1851, at nine o'clock, a.m. All Mechanics' and Workingmen's Associations, all Co-operative Labor Establishments, all

Land and Labor Reform Associations, all those opposed to Land Monopoly, all those opposed to Feudal Tenures, emanating from the rotten despotisms of Europe, all those who believe that all persons have a natural right to earth, to land enough from which to dig subsistence, are requested to send Delegates. Any Association of five or more are entitled to one Delegate.

Albany, July 21, 1851.

WM. MANNING, J. SMITH WASHBURN, PHILIP HOYLE, JAMES KILBOURN, AARON HALL, GEORGE HUCKETT, JAMES GRAY, JOHN MCCAFFIT, Jr.—State Central Committee.

New York *Daily Tribune*, Aug. 30, 1851, p. 7.

The New-York State Industrial Legislature holds its first Annual Session at Albany, Sept. 3, pursuant to the call of the Workingmen's State Organization Committee, consisting of the following gentlemen:

Messrs. Isaac F. Clark, Laurens, Otsego; James Casham, West Troy; G. Huckett, Troy; T. C. Wittenberg, Poughkeepsie, Dutchess; O. Davis, Herkimer; Jonathan Sawyer, Jefferson; J. P. Murphy, Niagara; Ben Price, New York; A. Hanna, Oswego; J. Snell, Orleans; James Stuart, Utica; J. E. Vedder, Schenectady; J. M. Ring, Broome; Charles Guinand, Kings; J. W. Palmer, Chautauqua; E. Williams, Auburn; A. B. Hauptman, Morrisania, Westchester; James M. Cavan, Rochester, Monroe; Chas. Sentell, Waterloo, Seneca; Albert Brisbane, Batavia, Genesee; Charles E. Young, Buffalo, Erie; G. B. Richardson, Bath, Steuben; John Downie, Ulster; J. I. Nicks, Elmira, Chemung; W. H. Doxtater, Ames, Montgomery; J. H. Manchester, Madison; E. Bannan, Warren; J. W. Wilcox, Rockland Lake, Rockland; Chas. L. Dibble, Devereaux, Fulton; A. Wallace, Greene; S. H. Mix, Schoharie; H. T.

Brooks, Wyoming; Stephen Hubbard, Greenfield Center, Saratoga; Peter F. Proseus, Valatie, Columbia; E. Robbins, Salina.

(2) Proceedings.
New York *Daily Tribune*, Sept. 4, 1851, p. 4.

The Convention reassembled at 1 o'clock, George P. Clarke in the Chair. Mr. Wittenberg read the minutes of the Morning Session. Before they were adopted, Mr. Murphy called for the reading of the communications; and the title of the Convention was changed to the New-York State Industrial Legislature, and the minutes arranged accordingly. A National Reform Convention is however to be held.

The Report of the Nomination Committee was as follows: *President*—James P. Murphy, Lockport, Niagara Co. *Vice-presidents*—John White, New York City, and John G. Woodruff, Rensselaer Co. *Secretaries*—Benjamin Hutchins, Albany Co., and Matthew A. Wilson, New-York. . . .

A Business Committee, consisting of John A. Smith of New-York; J. S. Washburn of Troy; J. M. Brown, Cohoes; James Casham, West Troy; and G. W. Stewart of Cayuga Co., were appointed by the Chairman.

Vice-president Woodruff made a few remarks on political action, and said that in Rensselaer County the working men had their County and Assembly Committees, and held their County Conventions and polled 300 votes last year, and could poll the same this year, or more, just according to the efforts made. He also explained the course pursued by the workingmen in Rensselaer County last Fall in voting a clean Reform Ticket, State and local. He urged the appointment of a State Central Committee, to recommend the proper course of policy for the National Reform Democrats.

Mr. William Arbuthnot, of New-York City, was for the nomination of a separate ticket, to be withdrawn in case favorable responses are received from the candidates of the old parties to the National Reform principles.

The President, Mr. Murphy, said that for his part he was instructed to urge the nomination of a ticket of their own. The feeling in Niagara County was strong for such a movement.

Mr. P. Manning, Chairman of the National Reform State Central Committee, while the Business Committee had retired to prepare business, noticed the frauds connected with the Land system in this State, and urged action as to the division of the public lands of New-York State among the landless, actual settlers, in limited quantities. He thought this ought to be the subject of discussion this Winter, and wanted memorials circulated throughout the State in favor of those subjects. A ten-hour law was also demanded as a compromise between twelve and eight; and minors should work but five hours per day, and thus decrease the labor of children. He saw much of the suffering of children in factories at Cohoes, his residence, and if the oppressions he daily saw lasted much longer, he would oppose the erection of another manufactory. A decided stand he thought ought to be taken on Land Reform, in order to operate on the Legislature and govern the State officers in their future action. Committees should also be appointed on the various important reforms now so much demanded.

Mr. John A. Smith, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolution: Resolved, that a Committee be appointed to draft a Memorial to be presented to the coming State Legislature, praying for the abolition of the Contract System at present pursued in

the public works, and the establishment of a uniform rate of wages per day, not less than $1.12½, ten hours to constitute a day's labor. . . The resolution was adopted. . .

Mr. Fannington Price was received as a delegate by a vote of the Convention, as he had not his credentials with him. Mr. John A. Smith then introduced further resolutions from the Business Committee, which were adopted. They read as follows:

Whereas, in the administration of criminal justice the State appoints a public prosecutor for the purpose of advocating the interests of the State; and whereas, in civil jurisprudence, a citizen who prosecutes a just claim, is compelled to expend double the amount of his claim in procuring justice – therefore

RESOLVED, that we petition the Legislature to provide such means as may be necessary to enable our citizens to procure the gratuitous administration of justice, without the present tedious and expensive process.

RESOLVED, that the present Registry clause in the Homestead Exemption Bill is unnecessary and unjust, and that the Legislature be instructed to repeal the said clause at its next session.

Minor Fink, Jr., and Hugh J. Hastings were admitted to seats in the Convention as delegates.

The Business Committee reported the following:

RESOLVED, that the State Legislature be requested to pass a ten-hour bill in regard to factories and other institutions chartered by law, making it a misdemeanor for any person to force a laborer, either male or female, to work more than the hours specified; and also, that all children under sixteen years of age will not be allowed to labor more than five hours per day.

RESOLVED, that a Committee be appointed to report on

the frauds and impositions at present practiced by the Contractors on the public works, and also those of the proprietors of institutions chartered by law.

Messrs. Manning, Casham and Washburn were appointed such Committee.

Mr. Hagadorn read some resolutions on Prison Labor and Contracting, adopted by a meeting in Dutchess County. Referred, on motion, to the Business Committee.

Mr. Fannington Price then read some Resolutions adopted by the Board of Supervisors of Dutchess County, on the subject of Free Schools. Referred to the Business Committee.

A Resolution on State Land Reform was referred to a Special Committee, consisting of Messrs. Manning, Price and Wittenberg.

Adjourned until 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

New York *Daily Tribune*, Sept. 5, 1851. Proceedings of Industrial Legislature, second day.

The Industrial Legislature assembled this morning—James H. Murphy, of Lockport, in the Chair, and M. A. Wilson, officiating as Secretary. After reading the minutes, the credentials of new Delegates were received. A Resolution was offered, calling upon the State Legislature to pass a Bill providing for a State Mechanical and Agricultural School for the purpose of forwarding the interests of the mechanical and agricultural population of the State, in pursuance of the recommendation of Governor Hunt in his last Message, on the Reform organizations throughout the State.

John White of New-York, one of the Vice-presidents, then took the Chair, and President Murphy gave his views on the creation of such an institution. He thought that an appropriation of $50,000 should be made by the

next Legislature for the purpose of properly endowing this Manual Labor College. Competent persons should be engaged, and all applicants for admission should have first availed themselves of the excellent free school system. One thousand dollars thus distributed would be $1 to each mechanic, and might, after great efforts, be raised by ourselves. The improvements in mechanism and science were discovered by the educated mechanics, which should be an additional reason for workingmen to arouse themselves from their lethargy. Ignorance was the cause of much of the swindling practices submitted to by the mechanic. While the State is giving $55,000 annually to schooling the sons of the rich only, to railroad corporations, &c., they dare not deny $100,000 to this undertaking. He desired the action of a Special Committee on the subject, as Governor Hunt and others were warmly in favor of the project. The sooner a movement of this kind was commenced the better.

John A. Smith inquired as to the appointment of representatives to this school. Mr. Woodruff urged the reference of the resolution to a Special Committee. J. M. Brown of Cohoes also discussed the resolution and favored the movement. Mr. Geo. P. Clarke of New-York thought this movement was a vital one. Miner Frink said it was gaining ground, and thought lecturers should be engaged to advocate the project throughout the State, and that it should be submitted to the next Legislature.

Mr. Clarke moved that the Special Committee be composed of five, with no two of one trade. Messrs. Brown, Manning, Wittenberg, Farrington, Price, John A. Smith, Geo. P. Clarke, John Webster of Long Island, Frink and Murphy, made some further remarks, and it was ordered to refer the whole subject to a Special Com-

mittee of three. Messrs. James P. Murphy of Niagara Co., John Webster of Kings, Joseph M. Brown of Albany, were appointed said committee.

Mr. G. W. Stuart, of Auburn, from the Business Committee, reported as follows:

Whereas, the Legislature did enact a law in 1844, abolishing the system of employing convicts at mechanical labor in the State Prison, except they were practical mechanics before conviction, and to be certified to as such: and

Whereas, this law is not in the least regarded by the Judges of the Courts in this State, in sentencing felons to the State Prison the enactment of the law of 1844 has been of no benefit whatever to mechanics.

And whereas, the system of making mechanical trades a punishment for crimes, is unjust and injurious to mechanics, as a class, both professionally and morally, the Committee recommend the adoption of the resolution adopted at Poughkeepsie, viz:

Whereas, the hiring of felons in the State Prison to contractors in mechanical employments, at the present prices, enables the contractors to sell the products of mechanical labor so low that the lowest mechanic is obliged to work for starving prices, to enable his employer to compete with them in the market:

And whereas, the education of felons in the State Prison in the mechanical arts results in scattering abroad among honest mechanics and mechanics' families and apprentices a class of degraded men as their associates—thereby poisoning the atmosphere of our workshops, converting them into schools of vice and crime, under the tuition of graduates from the State Prison, and bringing disgrace on an honorable class of citizens; therefore,

RESOLVED, that we solemnly protest against this un-

just and odious competition, and this foul disgrace upon respectable men; that we will never cease our exertions against this prime evil, till the last vestiges of the statutes which uphold it are totally eradicated from the records of the State.

RESOLVED, that we call upon the Legislature of this State to abolish the present system of contracting for mechanical labor in the State Prison, and to relieve the mechanics of this State from the prison monopoly, and that we will not hereafter give our support to any man, as a candidate for the Legislature, who is not willing to comply with our wishes, as expressed in this resolution.

These resolutions were discussed by Messrs. John A. Smith, J. M. Brown, Wm. Manning, Price, and others, and finally adopted. Recess.

AFTERNOON SESSION. Mr. Woodruff introduced the following:

RESOLVED, that a Committee of three be appointed by the Convention to enter a complaint against Alex. E. H. Wells, Darius Clark and Wm. P. Angell, States Prison Inspectors, for a dereliction of duty in violation of an act passed at the Legislature of 1842, Chapter 142.

Debate ensued, and a resolution adopting a call on the Legislature to take such measures as shall ensure enforcement of the law in relation to Convict Labor as passed April 9, 1842.

A report in favor of abolishing the present contract system was made, and the form of a memorial to be presented to the Legislature for the establishment by law of the ten-hour system, and fixing 9s. as the lowest day's wages for laboring men, was adopted.

The Committee to present a memorial for the division of the Public Lands in the State of New-York, presented a resolution which was adopted, that the next Legis-

lature be requested to pass a law providing for the division of the Public Lands of this State into fifty-acre farm lots, and one-acre village lots, and granting a title to one of either, free of cost to all actual settlers, not possessed of other land equal to the amount of above divisions of land. Long discussions ensued, when the report was adopted without amendment. On motion, Messrs. Manning, Washburn and James Casham, were appointed a Committee to report on the frauds and impositions at present practiced by the contractors on the public works, and also those of the proprietors of Institutions chartered by law. Adopted. The State Central Committee authorized to circulate the report.

Mr. Harrington Price presented the following resolution: That the following National Reform State Central Committee be appointed for the ensuing year, and that its headquarters be in New-York: New-York–John A. Smith, William Arbuthnot, and Benj. Price; Lockport–James P. Murphy; Albany Co.–Wm. Manning; Cohoes–James Gray, Albany; Poughkeepsie–Theo. C. Wittenberg; Troy– John G. Woodruff; Auburn–Gilbert W. Stuart.

RESOLVED, that a State Organization Committee also be appointed, composed of members from every County.

John G. Woodruff, of Troy, spoke in favor of a decided political action, and calling upon the Reform organizations in the different Counties to interrogate the local candidates, &c., and offered the following:

RESOLVED, that we now proceed to the nomination of State officers to be supported by the workingmen at the coming election, in case the candidates of the two great parties refuse to pledge themselves to support our measures, the said nominees to be questioned by the Industrial State Central Committee.

A long debate ensued; when the resolution to go on to nominating was adopted, and the nominations deferred until the report was heard.

The report of the Committee on the Mechanical College was adopted, and B. F. Price, of New-York, Geo. Morgan and Geo. G. Cooper, of Rochester, were appointed a Committee to carry out the objects of the report.

The Committee to whom was referred the resolution calling upon the legislature of this State to endow an Agricultural College and Mechanical School, presented a report approving of the object, but recommended its consideration to a special Convention. They then proceeded to ballot for state officers. [Ticket, following item.]

New York *Daily Tribune*, Sept. 6, 1851. Third Day.

This body adjourned its session Friday forenoon, after a sitting of three days, and most of the Delegates left Albany the same day [September 5], first visiting several of the public institutions of that city, and paying a visit to Governor Hunt, who in the course of his remarks announced that he favored many of the principles enunciated by the Reformers. As the telegraph made some blunders in the names of the State Central Committee, and the candidates for State officers, we publish a correction:

State Central Committee–(Headquarters, No. 162 Nassau-st., New-York City.)

New-York City–John A. Smith, No. 466 Houston st.; William Arbuthnot, No. 94 Vesey-st.; Benjamin Price, No. 110 Fulton-st.; Lockport–James P. Murphy; Troy–John G. Woodruff; Albany Co.–William Manning, Cohoes; James Gray, Albany City; Pough-

keepsie–Theodore C. Wittenberg; Auburn–Gilbert W. Stuart. The nomination of Isaac P. Walker, U.S. Senator from Wisconsin, was responded to.

STATE TICKET. For Judge of the Court of Appeals–L. Ward Smith, Monroe county; Secretary of State–Jeremiah S. Washburn, Rensselaer Co.; Controller–Henry B. Stanton, Seneca Co.; State Treasurer–John Windt, New-York City; Attorney General–Azar Tabers, Albany City; State Engineer and Surveyor–Robert McFarland, (Editor New-York *Scientific American*), Kings Co.; Canal Commissioner–Caleb Lyon, Lewis Co.; Inspector of State Prisons–Elias Pitts, (Editor of the Poughkeepsie *American*), Dutchess Co.

On Thursday evening a Public National Reform meeting was held at the City Hall, Albany, over which William Manning of Albany Co. presided, with John Webster of Kings Co., as Secretary. Speeches were made by J. S. Washburn, Theodore C. Wittenberg, D. Ferguson, James P. Murphy, John A. Smith, and George P. Clarke, warmly approving both Social and Political Reform, and urging upon the friends of labor throughout the State to coöperate with the Central Organization.

(d) NEW ENGLAND INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE

(1) The Industrial Movement.
New York *Daily Tribune*, June 18, 1850, p. 3, col. 3.

The Boston *Protective Union* of the 15th gives the report of the first meeting of the New England Industrial League (delegates from the various callings) under its constitution. Edward Coddington, printer, was appointed Chairman; B. S. Treanor, Secretary pro tem. The credentials of the South Boston Machinists, Printers' Union, Printers' Coöperative Company, (who pub-

lish the *Protective Union*, &c.) Working-men's League of Holyoke, Boston Union of Associationists, Seamstresses' Coöperative Society, Cabinet Makers' Society, &c. were received. Delegates to this league—among others the Slaters' Union, the Boot-makers of Randolph, Mass.—have formed a Mutual Labor Association for the purpose of becoming their own employers. On the 7th inst. 30 journeymen of this far-famed boot-making town subscribed $487 as a beginning for a Coöperative Association. In Hardwick, Mass., a Coöperative Paper-mill is to be established by the operatives themselves. The New-England Industrial League has appointed Messrs. Coddington, Riley and Treanor a Committee to draw up an address to the Workingmen of New England, and a general meeting of the various Societies composing the League (beneficial and protective) will be held on the 4th of July next in Boston, for the purpose of adopting such measures as may then seem necessary for the improvement and elevation of the laboring classes, and for the purpose of declaring the independence of Labor. The meeting of the League, will be held every Monday evening at 22 Broomfield st. . .

(2) The Political Movement.
New York *Weekly Tribune*, Oct. 26, 1850, p. 6, col. 6.

The *Chronotype* and other Boston papers contain the proceedings of the State Convention of the friends of Industrial Reform, held in that city on Thursday, at which the following resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, the present condition of Labor and the laboring interests of the country, clearly indicate the imperative necessity of some thorough and radical change in our State and National legislation, to save the people from Industrial, Political and Social degradation; and whereas, the history of the two great political parties of

the land, for at least the last 25 years, is one of assumption, usurpation and treachery, whereby they have forfeited all claim to the confidence and support of the honest working classes, rendered their longer supremacy a disgrace to the Union, and a curse to every honest and useful interest—therefore

1. RESOLVED, that we call upon our fellow workingmen, throughout Massachusetts and the Union, to absolve themselves from all connection with these parties, and unite upon one common platform of Justice to Labor and Justice to Humanity.

2. RESOLVED, that our object is not so much the political triumph of parties and men as the practical recognition of rights, through which we become men, and which form the basis of all civil governments.

3. RESOLVED, that the land of this continent is the property of the people, and ought to be held sacred from the grasp of speculators and monopolists, and be secured by an act of Congress for the use of actual settlers in limited quantities, free from all cost, except the cost of transfer.

4. RESOLVED, that the homestead ought in every instance to be preserved against all execution and process; the misfortune or extravagance of a father ought never to be visited on his innocent wife and offspring.

5. RESOLVED, that it is the duty of every State to protect the labor of every person against the fraud of dishonest employers, by giving the laborer a lien on property which he has made valuable by his labor, in preference to all other claims against it.

6. RESOLVED, that as ten hours a day is allowed by all medical authorities who have written on the subject, to be sufficient for a man to work, a law ought to be enacted prohibiting all Incorporated Companies from working

one set of hands more than ten hours a day, as without such a law the wealthy employer will take advantage of the necessities of the poor, to compel them to work the hours he may dictate.

7. RESOLVED, that it is the duty, as well as the interest of workingmen, to form Mutual or Coöperating Labor Associations, in order to abolish, as far as they can, the system of wages slavery, a law ought to be enacted in this State, by which all such Associations can receive the advantages and benefits of Incorporation, without the trouble and expense of obtaining a special enactment.

8. RESOLVED, that the late Act of Congress, which converts the citizens of the free States into man-catchers for the slave owners of the South, is a gross violation of the Constitution, an infamous usurpation, and a despotic enactment, not binding in law or conscience on the people, and ought to be resisted, if necessary, to death, by every friend to our country, to humanity, and to justice.

9. RESOLVED, that the Land Bounty Act, which has recently passed both Houses of Congress under the specious plea of rewarding soldiers engaged in certain wars, is a gross and infamous swindle, got up by speculators to traffic in the people's inheritance, and is a bare-faced robbery, which calls for the reprobation of all honest men.

10. RESOLVED, that the present unequal representation in our State calls loudly for reform.

11. RESOLVED, that at the present time we deem it inexpedient to form a separate and independent party, but strongly recommend our brother workingmen to question every candidate who offers himself for office, whether in town, city, county or State, and vote for no man who will not advocate and support the principles contained in the preceding resolution.

The delegates met in Hancock Hall and were in session the whole day. Appleton Fay of Worcester, presided; Messrs. W. F. Young of Lowell, and Daniel N. Smith of South Boston, acted as Vice Presidents; and Mr. B. F. Treanor of Boston, was Secretary.

Messrs. Young, H. P. Trask, Brown of Lynn, Smith and Treanor were appointed a Committee to prepare Resolutions and an Address to the Workingmen of the Commonwealth.

Dr. Douglas of Conn. was introduced to the meeting, and gave an interesting account of the efforts made in previous years in the cause of Labor; he himself had at one time published a paper devoted to the cause. He concluded by condemning apathy among Workingmen, and called on them to arouse themselves to their true interests, believing sincerely that the welfare of the Republic depended on them.

Hon. Wooster Sprague of Vermont, called on Workingmen to persevere in their efforts; to organize as a distinct party. He had left his party because it proved false to its principles.

Messrs. Wilmarth and Devereux of Providence, Young of Lowell, Parkman, Trask, Treanor, Madigan, Brown and Fay also addressed the Convention. These gentlemen spoke warmly upon the important topics which interest them—such as the freedom of the public lands, the passage of a lien law, and a ten hour law, abolition of the banking system, the iniquity of the Fugitive Slave law.

The speeches were all of a nature well calculated to adorn our halls of legislation, and truly more divested of selfishness and chicanery than any we (the *Chronotype*) ever heard from those who squander the people's money by one-sided legislation.

The President and Secretary of this meeting were appointed a Committee to address the several candidates for Governor and Lieut. Governor in relation to the sentiments of this meeting and publish their answers.

The New-England Industrial League were empowered to call future meetings, and the Convention adjourned.

With regard to nominations they pursue the same policy recommended for the season by the New York and New Jersey Reformers.

Twenty organized labor Associations were represented at the Massachusetts Convention, and the *Chronotype*, in speaking of their Delegates, says, they were men of the right stamp, imbued with a zeal for the welfare of the laborer, and a determination to work by all laudable means for the improvement of his condition.

(e) PITTSBURGH WORKINGMEN'S CONGRESS

New York *Daily Tribune*, April 22, 1850, p. 3, col. 1.

A Convention of Delegates from several Trades at Pittsburgh, assembled on the 15th inst. The following branches were represented: tailors, tinners and coppersmiths, printers, coach-makers, shoemakers (ladies' branch), puddlers and boilers, saddle and harness makers, bootmakers, blacksmiths, carpenters, pattern makers, watchmakers and paper-hangers. Delegates appointed by the Workingmen of Elizabeth Borough presented credentials and took their seats.

A Committee of 14 was appointed to prepare a plan of organization, and another of 5 to request the coöperation of other branches not yet represented in the Congress. Five members were appointed a Committee to draft a platform and resolutions, viz: Jas. T. Thomburgh, W. J. Marks, S. J. N. Smith, Jas. Watson and J.

Reese. In the evening an address was delivered to the Congress by Hon. Charles Naylor, for which a vote of thanks was unanimously adopted. The body then adjourned to next Saturday evening.

New York *Daily Tribune*, June 25, 1850, p. 6, col. 1.

Met, pursuant to adjournment, in Union Hall on Monday evening. The President being absent, Mr. Stewart was called to the chair. Messrs. A. Keevil, E. Hoag, John F. Duff and R. Savory were proposed and duly elected members of the Congress. Mr. Watson presented the following resolutions:

RESOLVED, that we attribute much of the mal-administration that has disgraced our State, and involved her in a debt of $42,000,000, to the scandalous and pernicious system of boring that has been openly carried on for years at the Seat of Government; and we will vote for no man for the Legislature who will not pledge himself to use his utmost exertions to drive these political leeches from our legislative halls.

RESOLVED, that we will support no man for public office who may be known to have attained a nomination, either directly or indirectly, through the influence of his wealth.

The resolutions having been read, on motion, it was ordered that they be the next business in order when the subject now before the Congress should be disposed of.

The Congress proceeded to the consideration of the resolution to form a separate political party, and Messrs. Sprinkle, Hoag, Burtt, Watson and Sawyer addressed the Congress on that subject. On motion, it was ordered that the further consideration of the subject be laid over, and that Mr. Watson's resolutions be the order of the business for the next meeting.

The Pittsburgh Congress meets every Monday evening.

New York *Daily Tribune*, July 8, 1850, p. 3, col. 2.

Met on the 1st inst. and Messrs. John Ferral, A. Burt and J. Nichols, Committee on a Union Store, reported for the organizing of a coöperative public Bakery, and the adapting of the business of the Union Store to the sale of the products of every branch of useful industry, for the smallest compensation that will cover the storage and the time of the storekeeper. The report was confided to the care of Mr. Ferral, to give it publicity, preparatory to final action thereon, and a resolution to give seats to a delegation from the German organization of workingmen was adopted unanimously. Mr. Watson's resolutions against the system of legislative boring for special statutory enactments, and against nominations for office, got up through the influence of wealth, were adopted unanimously. Mr. Colvin, in his speech on the last resolution, said that the $300 Homestead Exemption Law had been rendered entirely nugatory by a rider to a bill passed last session, at Harrisburg, that took away the exemption principle, excepting only the necessary tools for the workman to toil with. Mr. C's speech excited great surprise, and was very appropriate. . .

New York *Daily Tribune*, July 18, 1850, p. 3, col. 3.

PITTSBURGH WORKINGMEN'S CONGRESS – German Branch. The Pittsburgh *Evening Tribune* of the 10th furnishes the following report of this powerful organization which met the previous evening in great force: Mr. Roth, President; Mr. Wangner, V. P.; Mr. Hange, Rec. Sec.; Mr. Hesse, Cor. Sec.; and Mr. Beuerman, Treasurer. A large amount of dues was subscribed, and a coöperative Delegation of five members were chosen to represent the German Congress in the "American" branch of the Congress with which they fraternize in all things. The *Volks-Tribun*, (People's Tribune) is the

title of the organ of the German Industrials. It has upwards of 500 subscribers pledged and will be out on the first of August. Mr. Hesse is to be principal editor.

The Pittsburgh Cabinet Makers (mostly German) met last Wednesday, and proposed to start a Coöperation Shop on a capital of $1,000. The *Post* gives a very favorable report of a Union Coach factory, and says the public properly appreciate the enterprise the Journeymen Coach Makers have embarked in. Glad to hear it.

4. "PURE AND SIMPLE" TRADE UNIONS. 1853-1854

(a) CHARACTER OF THE NEW MOVEMENT

Hunt's Magazine, April, 1853, vol. xxviii, 594.

. . . Since our last, the expenses of living have been somewhat increased at nearly all points. The prices of sundry articles of general consumption have, it is true, been somewhat reduced, but most other avenues of expenditure have been widened. Labor of all kinds demands higher reward, and in almost every branch of industry, organizations, combinations, and in some cases "strikes," have been resorted to in order to obtain the desired advance. This system of combined demand, although it has many able advocates, it is hardly based upon sound principles, and as now acted upon in this country, has been connected with exactions so manifestly unjust, that it cannot much longer be sustained. Were its advocates content to confine its operation simply to demands for increased wages, the system would be more tolerable; but such terms are now dictated by associations of workmen to their employers, that capitalists shrink from enterprises requiring the employment of a large manual force. After prescribing the rate of remuneration, many of the Trades' Unions go on to enact laws for the government of their respective departments, to all of which the employer must assent, before he can be allowed to proceed with his business. The result even thus far is, that there is found no limit to this species of encroachment. If workmen may dictate the hour and mode of service, and the number and description of

hands to be employed, they may also regulate other items of the business with which their labor is connected. Thus, we find that within a few days, in the city of New York, the long-shore-men have taken by force from their several stations the horses and labor-saving gear used for delivering cargoes, it being part of their regulations not to allow of such competition; and in some places in the interior the new excavating machines have had to give way before the brute force of the mob. . .

(b) AMALGAMATED TRADES' CONVENTION

New York *Daily Tribune*, Sept.-Oct., 1853.

LABOR DEMONSTRATION – OVER 2,000 MECHANICS IN Council. [September 1, p. 5, col. 2-4] A spirited and imposing demonstration of Operatives took place last night at Metropolitan Hall, with the general object of strengthening the claims of Labor for its rights and fair recompense, and especially to aid the House Painters of the City, who for some time past have been on a strike for higher wages.

The immense assemblange of all crafts filled the Hall, and demonstrated the general interest which the workingmen of New York feel in the success of this struggle of their brother mechanics for the maintenance of those rights which the employing Painters guaranteed to their workmen during the past spring; and yet, in the month of June attempted, in some instances did, defraud them of. We allude to the fact that in March last, the employing Painters promised to pay their men the sum of $2 per day up to November next, and when the seasons became dull, would pay no more than the old rate, $1.75 per day, from which attempt this strike resulted.

The meeting was called to order by Mr. Copping, who nominated David A. Cooke, President of the Printers'

Co-operative Union, as President. The following Vice-presidents, as representatives of their several trades were elected and took their seats on the stage; David A. Cooke, J. A. Smith, Printers; J. J. Crugier, Daguerreotypist; H. S. Smith, Engraver; John W. Fisher, T. Hennesy, Carpenters; Charles Buckheister, President of the Fresco-painters' Society; W. A. Gamble, President of the Shoemakers' Society; William Colliff, Richard Diddler, Charles Kenney, Saddlers; John Swartz, Brush-maker; James Calder, Jackson Co., Iron Rail Maker; Matthew Delany, Gas Fitter; Richard Milner, Plasterer; J. C. Wilson, Harness Maker; Julian L. Martin and W. A. King, Sign Painters; P. Dunn, Paper Stainer; John Scully, Blacksmith; James Daly, Barber; Edmund Burgess and John Mannise, Stone Cutters; Wm. Merritt, House Smith; J. W. Bohn and Wm. Ridenhure, Sash Blind Makers; Hannah & McIlvaine, Tailors; David G. Crosby, Silversmith; F. C. Loutrell, President Hatters' Association; John Sheppard, Cabinet Maker; Pond, Jeweller; Edward Morris, Ship Joiner; Wm. Casey, Stair Builder; James Devereaux, Mason; E. W. Morgan, Brass Finisher; D. McDonald, Glass Cutter; G. Davis, Chair Painter; John Byron, Walter S. Beman, Christopher Bryan, Robert Boyce, Fire Engine Builders; Thomas Anderson, Fire Cap Manufacturer; B. H. Gandens, Ladies' Shoemaker; Francis Gilmore, Hibernian U. B. Society; and others. . .

Mr. Magagnos concluded by proposing the following resolution, which passed unanimously: Resolved, that all trades and societies represented here this evening agree to send three delegates to a Mass Convention of the trades of this city, to meet at Convention Hall, on Saturday evening next, September 3, 1853; and then

and there to devise means for the purpose of forming a General Trades' Union, to adopt more permanent measures for the protection of workingmen.

[September 14, p. 7, col. 1] At 8 o'clock last evening, the representatives of the various trades and trade societies of the City met at Military Hall, Bowery, to take measures for the amalgamation of the mechanics and laborers of all professions into one large Union. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

In order to receive the credentials of delegates, the Convention was temporarily organized, and the officers of the previous meeting – Mr. Croley as President, and Mr. Coulson, Secretary – continued in their offices. The following names were then handed in, and their credentials received:

Pioneer Temple No. 1, House Carpenters' Protective Association – Messrs. Havilah M. Smith, Patrick Hennessy, and Benjamin Price; Silver Knife Makers' Association – David G. Croley, Isaac Blanvelt, and Henry J. Dixon; Operative House Carpenters – Wm. J. Masterton, and Ambrose Blake; New York Saddle and Harness Makers' Association – John M. Walsh, Hart R. Sherriff, and Wm. Pollock; Ship Joiners' Union – Edward Morris, John A. Lawrence, and Charles Borst; Practical House Painters' Benefit and Protective Association – John Camlon, John English, and Stewart Bannon; Practical House Painters' Protective Union – Joseph Rogers, John Saunders, David Baillie; Printers' Co-operative Union – K. A. Bailey, Wm. Moore, D. A. Cooke; Riggers' Union Association – Thos. Blair and Samuel Weeks. . .

The Committee on the Basis of Representation presented the following report:

1. Every Trade Association shall have the privilege of sending three delegates; the said society to be a known organized body, and the said delegates to be journeymen working at the trade.

2. Every shop having employed twenty, and less than one hundred men, shall have one delegate.

3. All shops having one hundred, and less than two hundred, shall have two delegates.

4. All shops having two hundred or more men employed shall have three delegates.

5. All shops, before sending their delegates, shall publish in one or more of the City papers the proceedings of their meetings when appointing delegates. Respectfully submitted, JULIAN A. MAGAGNOS, Chairman.

These regulations were taken up singly and discussed.

Mr. Price moved the substitution of the term Workingmen's instead of "Trades' Association." Mr. Magagnos thought the change was uncalled for, and supported his position in a speech of considerable length. Mr. C. A. Bailey, of the Printers' Coöperative Union, did not think the Committee was competent to say what man or men should be appointed as delegates, by any society. No matter if the delegate be a lawyer, so long as the society which appoints him as a delegate, be satisfied that he can represent their interests in this Convention.

Mr. Doyle did not wish to hold his position as a delegate in the Convention, if other than mechanics and laborers be admitted as delegates. He would move to amend the first rule by substituting the following: All organized bodies of laboring men shall be entitled to a representation in this Convention, the delegate being a workingman, and a member of the body which he represents.

Mr. W. J. Masterton, of the Carpenters, seconded the

amendment, and hoped that business would be proceeded with rather than unnecessary discussion.

Mr. Croley, of the Silver Knife makers, thought professional men should be excluded altogether. It has been a too common practice among workingmen to admit wirepullers, and such designing persons, as would make these Workingmen's Association mere tools for the furtherance of their own personal or party interest.

Mr. Price again spoke in defence of his amendment.

Mr. Mathers moved that the phrase "Workingman's" be struck out from Mr. Doyle's amendment. Lost.

The question on Mr. Doyle's amendment was then unanimously carried.

On the second rule, Mr. Reardon, from the Masons, was opposed to the idea of any body of operatives being represented in the Convention, unless as members of some organized body of men, or Society.

Mr. Magagnos explained that the rule was designed to take in all mechanics – the minority only, as a general rule, being members of an organized body.

Mr. Reardon thought the adoption of such a rule as the one under discussion, would be eminently productive of evil, and completely subversive of the principles the Convention sought to carry into effect.

Mr. Masterton indorsed the sentiments of Mr. Reardon.

Mr. Magagnos reiterated his reasons.

Mr. Price thought that a man who would not join an organization of his trade, would be unworthy of being represented in the Convention.

Mr. Bulger, of the masons, was of the same opinion, and supported it at considerable length.

Mr. Magagnos moved that the matter under debate be laid on the table until the Convention be organized. Carried.

Mr. Bailey, from the Printers, proposed that each delegate, on taking his seat, shall pay into the treasury the sum of one dollar.

Mr. Magagnos seconded the motion. Carried.

After a collection to defray expenses, the Convention adjourned to Tuesday evening next.

[September 21, p. 7, col. 1] . . . The delegates present subscribed $5 to meet the expenses. Credentials from the following societies were then received:

Men's Branch of the Journeymen Boot and Shoemakers' Society – Chas. McCarty and Felix O'Neil; Ladies' Shoemakers' Union – B. St. Ganden, Wm. Allwright, Jas. Dooley; Hat Finishers' Trade Association – Geo. W. Weed; New York Practical House Painters' Benefit and Protective Association – D. C. Wendell, Jas. Galway, as substitutes for former delegates. . .

Remarks were then made by several delegates, who advised that a Constitution be drawn up, discarding all pretensions to political action, and publishing the same to the world.

Mr. Cowton proposed the following: Resolved, that this Labor Convention is and shall be solely a Social organization, for the protection and elevation of Manual Labor; and that we will use all such means as future experience may show to be most expedient, for the accomplishment of the above object.

After some little discussion, the resolution was carried, and the Convention adjourned to such time and place as the Committee may announce.

[September 28, p. 5, col. 1] This body met last night at Keene's Hotel, corner of Grand and Elizabeth-sts. David G. Croly was called to the Chair. John A. Lawrence, the Secretary, read the minutes of the last meeting, and called over the list of Delegates, when those from the following trades answered: Ladies' Shoe-

makers, Ship Joiners' Union, Silver Knife Makers, Cordwain Boot and Shoe Makers, Hatters, Tallow Chandlers, Practical House Painters' Benevolent Society, Printers' Union, and Tailors' Protective Society. . .

The Secretary read the report of the Business Committee, which recommended that three from each Society should be considered as the basis of representation from each Society, and that workingmen of all descriptions of business be requested to meet and send Delegates, and that no Delegates should be received from Benevolent or Secret Societies. The report stated that the Committee had not time to draw up an address to the trades of the City, but would have it prepared by next night of meeting. One or two of the Delegates objected to the resolution, which would exclude secret and benevolent societies, as there were then Delegates in the room from such Societies in the body. This report was laid on the table for the purpose of appointing a committee to draw up a constitution and by-laws. . .

Mr. K. Arthur Baily replied to Mr. Doyle and said, a Constitution was necessary, for as yet men were not sufficiently enlightened to act in combination without some rule to govern them; nor did he think that even the gentleman himself, who proposed that mode of government, could well do without some restraint. The workingmen were their own tyrants, for if Republican doctrine was true, the majority govern and the idlers were certainly not the majority, and yet they governed. . .

Mr. Mathers considered the course just pursued by the gentleman was the strongest proof that could be of the necessity for the adoption of a constitution to govern the body, as he rose to make a motion and then took occasion to make sarcastic remarks on the press. This was

making one motion and speaking to another. He was against receiving delegates from shops. Let them organize the trade to which they belonged if they desired to be represented in the body. Several members spoke on this question.

A resolution was moved by Mr. Galway that the thanks of the meeting should be given to the Press, and considered that the constant snarling at the Press and Reporters, pursued by some of the members of the Convention, was very unbecoming.

Mr. Baily said he did not consider the Press would thank the body for a stereotyped resolution, but he believed that a resolution to state that the room was free to the Press, and that they would be admitted to be present at their proceedings, would be acceptable. This would be of some utility to them, as they really did not know whether they were welcome or not, as yet. . .

Mr. Cowton moved that all shops numbering twenty be allowed to send a delegate to the Convention, until a Constitution be adopted. This resolution was lost. . .

(c) CIGAR MAKERS' TRADE AGREEMENT CONVENTION

New York *Daily Tribune*, May 16, 1854, p. 5, col. 4.

A State Convention of the Journeymen and Employing Cigar-makers has been in session in this city for two days past, composed of Delegates from Albany, Troy, Rochester, Auburn, Watertown, Rome, Elmira, Ithaca and Syracuse, who assembled for the purpose of agreeing upon a scale of prices. The Convention temporarily organized yesterday by the election of Edward B. Van Cott of Albany as Chairman. In the afternoon the Committee on Organization submitted the following report, which was adopted:

President—John G. Woodruff, Troy; *Vice-presi-*

dents—Peter Doyle, Utica; John O'Brien, Auburn; Chauncey C. Smith, Syracuse; *Secretaries*—Theodore Fitzgerald and Peter Lee of Syracuse.

The Committee on Credentials reported a list of delegates, comprising 38 names, as follows: from Syracuse, 20; Utica, 6; Albany, 3; Auburn, 3; Rochester, 2; Troy, 1; Watertown, 1; Ithaca, 1; Corning, 1.

Action was taken on the employment of apprentices, discouraging the employment of runaways, and requiring them to serve out their time. Four years was fixed on as the time for learning the trade.

This afternoon Mr. Woodruff presented an address and series of resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, and ordered to be communicated to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, urging upon our National Legislature, "in behalf of the trade, to impose a specific duty of $.40 per pound on all cigars imported to this country," and pledging their political support to those candidates for Congress who favor the levying of this duty.

Mr. Pierce being called for, presented the following statistics of the tobacco culture: In Ohio are raised 10,000,000 lbs., one-fifth of what is produced in Kentucky; in New York 83,000 lbs.; in Pennsylvania 60,000 lbs.; in Connecticut and Massachusetts from 1,000,000 to 3,000,000 lbs.; in Florida 800,000 lbs. Few of the southern States raised tobacco for cigars—Florida only. If Nebraska became a slave region, the negroes, who live in uncarpeted houses, on plain fare, and are at no expense for watches and schooling, would cultivate the article, and so produce a ruinous competition with free laborers. Mr. P. urged this at length and to acceptance.

The following scale of prices was adopted to go into force the 29th inst.:

Regalias, clear Spanish, per thousand	$10.00
Half Regalias, clear Spanish	7.50
Seed and Spanish Regalias	8.00
Seed and Spanish Half Regalias, 5½ inch	6.50
Spanish La Normas, 5 inch long, 25, 13½ box	5.50
Spanish La Indas, 5 inch long	5.50
Spanish La Normas, 5 inch long, 25, 13½ box	5.50
Seed and Spanish La Indas, 5 inch long	5.00
Clear Seed La Normas, 5 inch long	5.00
Clear Seed La Indas, 5 inch long	5.00
Florida and Spanish La Normas, 5 inch long	5.00
Florida and Spanish La Indas, 5 inch long	5.00
Spanish Plantation, 6 inch long	7.00
Seed and Spanish Plantations, 6 inch long	6.50
Spanish Londons, 4⅝ inch long	5.50
Clear Seed Principe, 4⅞ inch long	4.50
Principes, all old fashion Cubas, 4⅞ inch long	5.00
Principes, Seed and Spanish, 4⅞ inch long	4.50
Spanish Congressors, 6 inch long	7.00
Seed and Spanish Congressors, 6 inch long	6.50
Spanish Jenny Linds, from 5 to 5⅛ to 5¼ inch long	6.00
Seed and Spanish Jenny Linds, from 5 to 5⅛ to 5¼ inch long	5.50
Londons, Seed and Spanish, 4⅝ inch long	5.00
Spanish Panatellas, 5½ inch long	6.00
Seed and Spanish Panatellas, 5½ inch long	5.50
Spanish Panatellas, from 5 to 5¼ inch long	5.50
Seed and Spanish Panatellas, from 5 to 5¼ inch long	5.00
Spanish Cazidoras, 5½ inch long	6.00
Seed and Spanish Cazidoras, 5½ inch long	5.50
Spanish Californians, from 4½ to 4⅝ inch long	5.00
Seed and Spanish Californians, from 4¼ to 4⅝ inch long	4.50
Spanish Ponies, from 4 to 4¼ inch long	4.50

All Scrap Cigars $.50 advance.

On motion of Mr. Pierce of Utica, it was

RESOLVED, that it is for the interest of the Cigar-makers and manufacturers to support the principles of the Protective-tariff.

Mr. John G. Woodruff, the President of the Convention, was elected as a Delegate to the National Industrial Congress, to be held at Trenton, N.J., in June, and on motion of Mr. Hofle of Ithaca, his expenses were paid by the Convention.

After passing various resolutions of thanks to the officers and others, the Convention was closed by some eloquent and pertinent remarks from Messrs. Woodruff and Pierce, on the cause of labor generally, and in favor of rebuking the Democracy for its transfer to Slavery by its leaders, and for the advantage given by a Democratic Congress by the Tariff of 1846 to foreign and pauperized labor.

The following members were appointed a State Central Committee: John G. Woodruff of Troy; Walter B. Pierce of Utica; Geo. W. Keisinger of Syracuse; William H. Lisk of New York; Charles Hofle of Ithaca; John O'Brien of Auburn; James H. Patterson of Rochester.

Mr. Woodruff offered the following, which was adopted:

RESOLVED, that the trade of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and such other places as could make it consistent are invited to coöperate with us in the action of this Convention.

Adjourned, *sine die*.